SPEECHES, STATEMENTS & MESSAGES OF THE QUAID-E-AZAM

Volume III

1941 (April 14) - 1945

Collected & Edited by

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ABBREVIATIONS

AFM	Archives of Freedom Movement
AICC	All-India Congress Committee
AIML	All-India Muslim League
A.P.	Associated Press
A.P.A.	Associated Press of America
A.P.I.	Associated Press of India
B.B.C.	British Broadcasting Corporation
C.P.	Central Provinces
F.	File
F.O.C.	From Own Correspondent
F.O.S.	From Own Sources
H.E	His/Her Excellency
H.E.H	His Exalted Highness
H.H.	His/Her Highness
H.M.	His/Her Majesty
H.M.G	His/Her Majesty's Government
I.C.S.	Indian Civil Service
I.N.A.	Indian National Army
K.B.	Khan Bahadur
M.L.A.	Member Legislative Assembly
M.P.	Member Parliament
N.W.F.P.	North West Frontier Province
O.P.	Orient Press
O.P.I.	Orient Press of India
p./pp.	page/pages
Q.A.P.	Quaid-e-Azam Papers
U.P.	United Provinces
U.P.A.	United Press of America

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750	Cable sent to Mr. Attlee, Prime Minister of Britain, regarding Palestine Immigration, Mastung, October 2.	2061
751	Speech in reply to an Address presented by the students of Ahmedyar High School, Mastung, October 7.	2062
752	Statement regarding Indonesians' struggle for independence, Mastung, October 12.	2063

753	Speech at a public meeting held under the auspices of the Baluchistan Muslim League at Quetta, October 16.	2063
754	Speech at a meeting held under the auspices of Baluchistan Muslim Students Federation, Quetta, October 18.	2073
755	Address to the Muslim League Workers at the Railway Station, Shikarpur, October 20.	2076
756	Statement to the Associated Press of India regarding situation in Sind, Karachi, October 22.	2077
757	Speech in reply to an Address presented by the Youngmen's Khatri Association, Karachi, October 22.	2078
758	Interview to the Associated Press of India explaining League's view to the Indonesian Freedom Movement, Karachi, October 23.	2079
759	Statement on Sardar Baldev Singh's allegation, Karachi, October 23.	2080
760	Statement disallowing all appeals made against the decision made by the Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board, Karachi, October 24.	2081
761	Statement disallowing the appeal of S.M. Taqi Hadi for the ticket of Central Assembly election, Karachi, October 25.	2084

762	Speech at a Public Meeting, Karachi, October 25.	2084
763	Appeal to Sind Muslims to support officially chosen candidates, Karachi, October 26.	2086
764	Interview to *"The Daily Gazette"* Karachi, October 26.	2087
765	Speech at a public meeting, Ahmedabad, October 27.	2090
766	Statement to the A.P.I., on the conduct of elections, Bombay, October 29.	2091
767	Speech inaugurating election campaign, Bombay, October 31.	2092
768	Interview to the representative of the Associated Press of America, Bombay, November 1.	2093
769	Interview to a representative of the Associated Press of America, clarifying various aspects of Pakistan, Bombay, November 8.	2096
770	Speech at a public meeting regarding Palestine situation, Bombay, November 8.	2100
771	Rejoinder to Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose's statement, Bombay, November 9.	2103
772	Appeal to his Voters, Bombay, November 10.	2104

773	Interview to A.P.I with regard to recalling Indian troops from Indonesia, Bombay, November 12.	2106
774	Id message to the Muslims of India, Bombay, November 15.	2108
775	Rejoinder to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's statement, New Delhi, November 18.	2109
776	Message to "*Millat*", a Bengali weekly, New Delhi, November 18.	2112
777	Speech at the Frontier Muslim League Conference, Peshawar, November 20.	2113
778	Speech at a Public Meeting, Peshawar, November 21.	2116
779	Speech at a Public Meeting, Mardan, November 24.	2118
780	Address to the Students of Islamia College, Peshawar, November 25.	2119
781	Speech at a Ladies Meeting, Peshawar, November 26.	2123
782	Speech in reply to an address of welcome presented by the students of Edwardes College, Peshawar, November 27.	2124
783	Message to the Musalmans of the Frontier Province, Peshawar, November 27.	2125

784	Rejoinder to the statement of Col.Hay, Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan, about reforms in Baluchistan, New Delhi, November 30.	2126
785	Statement on the announcement about the visit of Parliamentary Delegation to India, Bombay, December 6.	2129
786	Interview to Duncan Hooper, Reuter's Special Correspondent, Bombay, December 7.	2132
787	Statement regarding Gandhi-Casey Parleys, Bombay, December 8.	2134
788	Statement on the Viceroy's speech at Calcutta,Bombay, December 11.	2134
789	Speech at a public meeting, Bombay, December 20.	2136
790	Birthday Message to Indian Muslims, Bombay, December 25.	2139
791	Speech at a tea-party given in Mr. Jinnah's honour by the Memon Merchants Chamber of Commerce on the occasion of his 70th birthday, Bombay, December 27.	2139
792	Statement congratulating the nation on cent per cent success in the elections, Bombay, December 30.	2141

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Presidential Address at the 28th Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League, Madras, April 14, 1941.

"Let me tell you as clearly as I can possibly define it that the goal of the All-India Muslim League is this: We want the establishment of completely independent states in the North-West and Eastern zones of India, with full control finally of defence, foreign affairs, communications, customs, currency, exchange, etc. We do not want in any circumstances a constitution of an All-India character with one government at the Centre. We will never agree to that. If we once agree to that, let me tell you, the Muslims will be absolutely wiped out of existence. We shall never be tributaries of any power or any government at the Centre so far as the North-West and Eastern zones of our free national homelands are concerned.

In an extempore speech in English lasting nearly two hours Mr. Jinnah dwelt on the achievements of the League during the last five years and its demand for Pakistan.

Mr. Jinnah's Address

Mr. Jinnah thanked all those who had made enquiries about his health by letter, phone or telegram and regretted his inability to answer them individually.

Taking stock of the internal progress and development of the League, Mr. Jinnah said that the first foundation for the revival of the League was laid almost exactly five years back in Bombay. During this period of five years — it was almost a "five-year plan" — they had succeeded in organising the League from one end of the country to the other in a remarkable manner. This, he said, was admitted on all hands. Since the fall of the Moghal Empire, Muslim India was never so well organised nor

so alive and politically conscious as to-day. They had established a flag, a platform, displaying and demonstrating the complete unity of the entire body of Muslims, and defined in the clearest language their goal – a goal about which Muslim India was formerly groping in the dark – the goal of Pakistan. In this effort, he could not forget to appreciate what Muslims in South India had done. Muslims in this province had many difficulties to encounter. He had maintained close touch with the districts of the province by post and telegram and watched the way the League had been organised here and the way it had grown in the province, not from the top but from the bottom. Only a year ago, this growth from the bottom had exploded the top and brought about complete harmony among Muslims throughout the presidency. He was convinced that the seven per cent of Muslims in the province had organised themselves under the banner of the League as no other province had organised itself. This was the five-year plan of the past.

Another Five-year Plan

"What next? That," Mr. Jinnah continued, "was the question they had to face. They had succeeded in raising the prestige of the League not only throughout the country; it had reached the farthest corners of the world. Their activities were followed and they were being watched throughout the world. But what next? They were now at a most critical time and various forces were operating in and outside India. No one could succeed in anything unless he worked for it and worked hard for it. What was required of Muslims to day, and particularly of the delegates gathered there, was that they should think of the future and devise another five-year plan. This could be no other than how best and how quickly to build up the departments of national life of Muslim India. These departments were fourfold and formed the four pillars supporting the structure.

The first of these was education and it was for them to

devise a well-considered educational plan. It was knowledge and enlightenment that made a people great. Muslims were left behind both economically and in the social uplift of the people of this great land of ours. Muslims were at the bottom as compared with people of other communities. In Madras, for instance, the only two industries in which the Muslims were anywhere were the hides and skins and beedi industries. Would they be content to remain merely 'beediwalas' and 'chamrawalas' or would they play a part in the development of industries, trade and commerce of the country?

The next department of work was no less important. It was the department relating to political training of the Muslims. While Muslims had made remarkable progress in the sense that they had brought millions and millions under the banner of the League, while they had made them politically conscious and raised their ideals, while Muslims were now made to feel and had acquired their self-respect, self-reliance, dignity and honour as a nation, all that they saw before them the enthusiasm and consciousness, required thorough harnessing, consolidating, training — politically — in a manner that would enable them to march on and achieve their goal. He would illustrate this by an analogy. What he wanted was that members recruited to the League should be trained (as soldiers were trained) but for a political army. The average man should be trained as a political soldier. These political soldiers must have their officers, for unless they had officers, the soldiers could not be guided properly. They should have lieutenants, captains, majors, colonels, generals and so on. He only gave this analogy to impress on them the nature of the next move they should make. The biggest task they had was to have the Muslims well trained in the political science, language and movements not only of this country but of the whole world and face any emergency that might arise at any time.

Muslims' Goal

"The next question I want to place before you is that we have now go to define — and define beyond doubt — what our goal is. There are many people who either do not understand or misunderstand or do not want to understand. They are ignorant people, not amongst Muslims — thanks heavens for that — and it is really amazing — I will give you one or two instances later — how our decisions or resolutions are misinterpreted or misrepresented. In order that there should be no room left for misunderstanding and that no doubt should be left in the mind of any intelligent or sensible Indian — it does not matter to which class or community he belongs — let me clarify our position with regard to our goal. What is the goal of the All-India Muslim League? What is its ideology and what its policy? Let me tell you as clearly as I can possibly define it, that the goal of the All-India Muslims League is this: We want the establishment of completely independent States in the North-West and Eastern zones of India with full control finally of defence, foreign affairs, communications, customs, currency and exchange, etc. We do not want in any circumstances a constitution of an all-India character with one government at the Centre. We will never agree to that. If we once agree to that, let me tell you, the Muslims will be absolutely wiped out of existence. We shall never be tributaries of any power or any government at the Centre so far as the North-West and Eastern zones of our free national homelands are concerned.

"The leadership of Hindu India has, I regret to say, been fooled. They have been bamboozled by the policy and the diplomacy of the British Government who are dangling in front of them a united all-India constitution and democrac — the two carrots before donkeys! The British Government know — and I say to the Hindu leadership, you have lost the last shred of statesmanship if you do not realise yet that the British Government know it — that Muslim India will never submit to

an all-India constitution and one central government. The British statesmen know that the so-called democracy and the parliamentary system of government is nothing but a farce in the country. It is not, as some people mix it up, a question of Muslims objecting to a government based on the brotherhood of man, as it is often alleged by people who really do not understand what they are talking about when they talk of either democracy or Islam. Democracy means, to begin with, majority rule. Majority rule in a single nation, in a single society, is understandable, although even there it has failed. Representative government in a single nation, harmonious, homogeneous and one is understandable. But you have only got to apply your mind for a few minutes to see the truth. Can such a system ever work or succeed when you have two different nations – indeed more than two different nations – in this sub-continent, when you have two totally different societies, the Muslim society and the Hindu society? In this land of yours* there is another nation, the Dravidians. This land is really Dravidastan. Imagine that three per cent of the Brahmins high caste, by skilful manoeuvring and by skilful methods of electioneering which they have studied, should secure the majority. Is this democracy or is it a farce? Therefore, I give my fullest sympathy and support to the Non-Brahmins. I say to them: The only way for you is to come into your own, live your own life according to your own culture and according to your own language – thank God that Hindi did not go very far here – and your own history is to go ahead with your ideal. I have every sympathy for you and I shall do all I can to support you to establish Dravidastan. The seven per cent of Muslims will stretch their hand of friendship to you and live with you on lines of equality, justice and fairplay.

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* Meaning the Madras Province

Safeguards For Minorities

Speaking next of safeguards for minorities, Mr. Jinnah said that safeguards for minorities must be provided for, wherever there are minorities. I have always believed – and I think I am right in believing that – that no government will ever succeed without creating a sense of security and confidence in the minorities. No government will succeed if their policy and programme is to be unjust, unfair and tyrannical over the minorities. The acid test of success of any government of a representative character is that the minorities must feel that they will have fairplay and justice. In that we shall not be wanting or lagging behind any civilised country in the world. I am confident that when the time comes, the minorities in our homelands will find that with our traditions, and our heritage and the teaching of Islam, not only shall we be fair and just to them but generous. We do not higgle-haggle. We do not believe in bargaining. We believe in action, we believe in statesmanship and in practical politics.

Independent Nation

Referring to the ideology of the League, Mr. Jinnah said that it had already been made very clear. But there were people in this country and especially there was a section of the Hindu press, who should be reminded of the same over and over again. The ideology of the League, he said, is based on the fundamental principle that Muslim India is an independent nationality. Any attempt to get them to merge their nationality or political identity or entity will not only be resisted but, in my opinion, it will be futile for anyone to tempt it. We are determined, and let there be no mistake about it, to establish the status of an independent nation and an independent State in this sub-continent.

Goodwill And Harmony

Explaining the policy of the League, Mr. Jinnah said that it was their aim to endeavour to promote goodwill and harmony among the peoples in the land on the basis of equality, fairplay and reciprocity. This could best be secured by agreements with other peoples and parties and states and their living together as members of a comity pledged to respect each other's rights. Any ambition of domination by one over the other must be abandoned, and the sooner that was done the quicker would be the solution of India's problems.

The Political Deadlock

"The next question that is troubling us to-day," Mr. Jinnah said, "is what is known as the deadlock. Let us examine it fairly to see as to who is responsible for that. The trouble in our country is that people have not the courage to speak out and to condemn openly the other party, while they claim to be impartial. I can understand one party, blaming the other, but even there is a limit. You know perfectly well that from the very commencement of the declaration of the war, in which we are involved, whether we approved it or not, whether we liked it or not, we have been made belligerents. Knowing the events that are taking place day after day we naturally become fully conscious of the immediate need of our country, its defences and the safeguarding of our homes and these questions occupied our foremost attention. From the beginning of the outbreak of the war, we made our position clear. It is not merely my saying it, but had been made clear by the Working Committee, the Council, and the full session of the All-India Muslim League. After the war had broken out the first good news, along with other bad news that we got, was the declaration of the Viceroy that His Majesty's Government are pleased to suspend the All-India Federation scheme embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935. It was only suspension. We know how capable our

British friends are in the science and game of diplomacy. We knew that was not enough, because what was suspended may be again established at any time. Therefore our first and foremost demand was that it should not only be suspended but must be abandoned. After long-drawn correspondence and interviews, the Government declared that the whole problem of India's future constitution will be considered *de novo*, including the policy and the plan on which the Government of India Act of 1935 was based. That was no doubt a great relief, because it was against that part of the Act that Muslim India was fighting from the very commencement. What was the next thing that we put before the British Government? We were afraid of another thing. You know that, in spite of all our efforts, the League was not so strong then as the Congress in organisation. The Congress, let me tell you, means nothing more and nothing less than a solid body of Hindus behind it. Other off-shoots and little branches (*bachas*) like the Hindu Mahasabha, the All-India Hindu League, the Liberal Federation and some other little bodies, you know, are all one. I do not say they are one in the sense that they approve all the acts of the Congress. But if any body does represent the high caste Hindus throughout India, it is the Congress. We knew that this Hindu organisation had been waiting for a long time for this war to break out.

In fact, you remember, a year before, when there was a likelikhood of the war breaking out the Congress Working Committee sat in vigilance, at Delhi for days and days, because as they were giving out openly, that will be the chance of their lives when they will be able to coerce the British Government successfully and wrench from them what they desired to take.

We knew that this powerful organisation was waiting and watching, and therefore we wanted the British Government to make the position clear with regard to the constitution of India, and we demanded that no constitutional change, interim or final should be made without the approval and consent of the

Mussalmans of India. After long-drawn correspondence and interviews, we now have the announcement of the Viceroy of August 8 and amplified by Mr. Amery on August 14. This demand is nothing less than bare justice to the ninety millions of Mussalmans in India. Could the Congress or the Hindus maintain, with any sense of justice and fairplay, that a constitution framed by the British Government joining hands with the Congress and acceptable to them should be thrust on the Muslims and that the Muslim should accept it? Is it not rank madness to say that this means a 'veto to the Muslim League' and a 'charter of intransigence to Mr. Jinnah and the League'? I do not admit for a moment that this is a veto or a charter of intransigence. What does the other proposal mean? It really means this: The framing of a constitution of India, without the approval and consent of a constituent factor, namely, the Muslims. I repeat again that it is but bare justice that we are asking that we must be recognised as a constituent factor and the British Government have now rightly stated that we must come to an agreement. How would the Congress like to have a constitution framed by the British Government in consultation with the Muslim League alone?

Proceedings, Mr. Jinnah said that in June last year at Bombay they urged upon the British Government – the British Government did not ask them – their attitude towards the war. In this connection, he said, the Congress or some Congressmen had said that the Muslims were imperialistic, and that he who was once a nationalist had turned a communalist because he wanted leadership. Whenever he put new ideas before the public, a section of the Hindu press would style them as "Mr. Jinnah's Trades" and the "League's Fulminations." He did not know what to do with those people who had developed a diseased mentality.

League's Memorandum To The Viceroy

Mr. Jinnah next referred to the resolution adopted by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League in June 1940, asking the Government of India to take serious steps to strengthen the defence of India and authorising Mr. Jinnah enter into communication with the Viceroy with a view to exploring and possibly devising all prompt measure to intensify war efforts. This resolution was supplemented by a memorandum which he presented to the Viceroy in July 1940. In it he had said that no pronouncement or statement should be made by the Government which would militate against the basic and fundamental principles laid down in the Lahore resolution of Pakistan, that the Government should give a definite and categorical assurance to the Muslims that no interim or final scheme of constitution should be made without the consent and approval of the Muslims of India, that in view of the grave danger to the country everything should be done to intensify the war efforts, to defend the country and to maintain internal security. They suggested then that the Viceroy's Executive Council be enlarged within the framework of the present constitution, that the additional number should be fixed after further consultation, and that the Muslim representatives should be equal in number to the Congress representatives. They also suggested that in the provinces where Section 93 of the Government of India Act was in operation, non-official advisers should be appointed. They also suggested the formation of a War Council intended to give representation thereon to the Indian princes. Mr. Jinnah referred to the other suggestions put forward in the memorandum.

Did we say anywhere in the memorandum, "Pakistan here and now"? The Lahore resolution was passed in March 1940 and this memorandum was prepared in July 1940. Why was it that we never said anything about Pakistan in memorandum? Before telling them the reason, Mr. Jinnah said,

he would like to inform them that all sorts of messages are sent out that the Pakistan issue is postponed, Pakistan is now put aside. This was, Mr. Jinnah added, nothing but wishful thinking on the part of those who had their feet deep in the mire. Why not say honestly and frankly that you have committed a blunder and that you are also willing to come into line?

British Press Comment

Mr. Jinnah said that this vicious propaganda which was being pursued and the way in which they were harassed was not confined only to the press and the public in this country, but to his amazement and astonishment he found that even the British press was being misled. This was what *The Times*, London, one of the best informed papers, wrote on April 1: "It is fools' day." Mr. Jinnah commented amidst laughter, "and *The Times* has been fooled." "While these proposals have'" wrote *The Times*, "encountered much opposition in various quarters, it is significant that the most general press comment on them is that they offer a fresh opportunity for re-examining the political situation. Mr. Jinnah's recent statement in the Central Assembly that the Muslim League would co-operate in a reconstituted executive, provided his scheme for partitioning British India is considered after the war, may make it easier for the two chief Indian parties to reach some temporary understanding." Mr. Jinnah remarked that this was a feeler regarding a change of attitude on his part and he could only say to the dozen of the British press that this was ingratitude than any traitor's arms!

Returning to the point as to why they did not demand Pakistan here and now, Mr. Jinnah said that it was due to one and only reason, namely, we did not wish to embarrass the British Government when they are engaged in this struggle of life and death and their own existence. That is why we said that as soon as the circumstances may permit or soon after the war

the whole problem of India's constitution must be examined *de novo*. Instead of the British Government acknowledging this as an honourable attitude on our part, worthy of their gratitude, I find that even the British press is playing into the hands of the Congress and Hindu propaganda. (Shame) I do not know who is responsible for this, whether it is Lord Linlithgow, or whether it is Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, or whether it is His Majesty's Government. But let me once more emphasize from this platform that the policy of the British Government in India, of inaction, of weakness, and of vacillation, is going to prove more disastrous than it is even in Europe. Cannot these men see that events are moving so fast and that maps are being changed? Look at what is happening in Europe. Look at what the Axis Powers are doing – action and action; and what is the British Government doing, placating and placating, vacillation, weakness, inaction!

Yugoslavia And India

In this connection, Mr. Jinnah referred to the march of events in Yugoslavia and said that, following the German capture of Zagreb, the Yugoslavia province of Croatia had been proclaimed an 'independent state' according to the German News Agency, and a Croat general had called on all officials, army officers and non-commissioned officers take the oath of allegiance to the 'New State'. They should remember, Mr. Jinnah said, that in Yugoslavia there were the Croats, the Slovenes and the Serbs. Their position was very much like our position in India: Dravidastan and the Dravidians, Pakistan and the Muslims and Hindustan and the Hindus. Here is a mighty sub-continent and the question really is: Are you going to wait and allow somebody else to come here and do the job for you or are you going to do it yourselves?

League And Congress Demands

Mr. Jinnah next dealt with the question, "What does the

Congress want?" The Congress had taken up a position, he said, about which there was not the slightest doubt in the mind of anyone. He would like to ask any man with any grain of sense: He would like to ask any man with any grain of sense: Do you think that Mr. Gandhi, the supreme commander and the general of this army, has started this satyagraha merely for the purpose of getting liberty of speech? Do you agree with me that this is nothing but a weapon of coercion for black-mailing the British who are in a tight corner to concede to the Congress the demands that they insisted upon.

What are the demands of the Congress, asked Mr. Jinnah, and he went on answering the poser by stating that the demand was the declaration of immediate and unconditional independence and freedom of India with power to the people of India by a constituent assembly, to be elected by adult franchise, to frame their own constitution — of course, to the satisfaction of the minorities. How that will be brought about, Heaven alone knows; I don't know. This was the demand of the Congress, and when they found it was not going to wash — the British Government ought to be grateful to the Muslim League for saving them the maximum amount of trouble the Congress was determined to give them, and he believed that in their heart of hearts the British people were grateful to the Muslim League — they thought of a flanking movement. The Congress found that the British Government would not possibly accept the demand. For the Muslims it meant complete destruction if that demand was conceded. Therefore, naturally the Muslim League opposed it tooth and nail. There were other minorities also who were concerned with their own status, like the schedule castes, the Christians and so on. The result was that Mr. Gandhi and the Congress now found, to their unexpected astonishment, a strong opposition to the Congress demand. So the Congress thought that if they could not get what they wanted by a frontal attack, they should try a flanking movement.

Poona Resolution Of Congress

What was the flanking movement, Mr. Jinnah asked and replied by saying "another resolution". Mr. Jinnah here explained that as soon as the Congress passed a resolution, there would be commentators and interpreters. The explanation of the meaning of a resolution would go on for weeks and weeks and by the time the commentators had finished, yards and yards of statements would have been issued. They went from Delhi to Wardha, from Wardha to Delhi, from Delhi to Poona and so on. So when they found that the Muslim League was the power which was holding up their diabolical machinations, they tried the flanking movement at Poona in place of the frontal attack. The change in Poona was only a change in name. The flanking movement was a plan and a strategy which was designed at Poona under the great general, because Mr. Jinnah did not believe that Mr. Gandhi was not a party to it. The Congress, Mr. Jinnah said, was willing to throw overboard the general, Mr. Gandhi, provided the British Government will do this, namely, make a declaration of immediate independence and freedom of India unconditionally, and the future constitution, the final constitution to be framed after the war; but the provisional constitution should be a national government at the Centre, responsible to the legislature. That was the Poona proposal and Mr. Gandhi, of course, was thrown over-board. And Mr. Kirpalani, Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee, said that they went to the length of selling their leader. They sold their leader, and ahimsa, which was their creed, was also buried in the city of Poona, because the Congress was ready to assist the British in the prosecution of the war and the defence of India. What was '*haram*' as we say became '*halal*' at Poona!

Proceeding Mr. Jinnah said that the Congress found that this was not going to wash either, because nobody was going to be deceived by this sort of things. They were only deceiving themselves. Then what did they do? All of a sudden,

that great genius of your province, Mr. Rajagopalacharya, came out, as he does such wonderful things at times, with this strategy. He said that "in this national government that we are proposing we are waiting that Mr. Jinnah should be the Prime Minister, and that he should constitute his cabinet in such manner as he likes." Mr. Jinnah commented that this was done with a view to deceiving the Muslim League, which they considered was the only body that was holding up their (Congress) game. Nobody would be deceived by such things. Even a Muslim boy understood these things now. Ladies and gentlemen, you see the point. I really do not know what has happened to their brains. They have been in the past successful by these methods. Why don't they realise that nothing of this sort is going to wash, and you cannot go on fooling all people for all time? It is the Congress and the Congress alone which has adopted the attitude of sometimes dictating, sometimes cajoling, sometimes fooling and bamboozling and sometimes trying to deceive you. I say to the Congress leaders and the Hindu leaders, please drop these methods.

To illustrate, according to him, the way in which responsible Congressmen spoke, Mr. Jinnah said that as late as April 10 Babu Rajindra Prasad referring to the Pakistan scheme, said that "the Working Committee of the Congress never discussed the scheme as that was never referred to by Mr. Jinnah." Do you believe that the Working Committee of the Congress never discussed the Pakistan scheme, asked Mr. Jinnah. (audience 'No.') This ghost has been haunting them since March 1940. What standard of truth is this? Every Congress leader heading with Mr. Gandhi has discussed and issued statements and written volumes about it. Babu Rajindra Prasad has actually issued a pamphlet with regard to the Pakistan scheme giving out his views. And he says it was never discussed by the Working Committee, because Mr. Jinnah never referred it to them! I say to Babu Rajindra Prasad: Ask your

Working Committee to discuss it, if they have not. I say, not only discuss it but apply your mind to it honestly, without prejudice and without silly sentiments, if there is any political wisdom or statesmanship still left in the Congress leadership.

Hindu Mahasabha's Attitude

Dealing next with the Hindu Mahasabha, Mr. Jinnah said that it was an absolutely incorrigible and hopeless organisation. Mr. Savarkar had sent a message to the Sikh conference that was taking place at Karachi, in which he said that the Sikhs should lose no time in developing into a great military force in the Punjab by demanding and getting their share to the fullest extent possible in the Army, in the Navy and in the Air Force. Having urged the Sikhs to take their due share in arms of the defence Mr. Savarkar assured the Sikhs that "when the Muslims woke from their day-dreams of Pakistan, they would see established instead a Sikhistan in the Punjab." Mr. Savarkar not only talked of Hindudom, Hindu nation and Hindu raj, but he wanted to depend upon the Sikhs in the Punjab to establish a Sikhistan. When this was the attitude of some of the leaders. Mr. Jinnah said, how was it possible for them (Muslims) to come to any solution of this problem? It was not alone the rabid Hindu Mahasabha and their leadership that believed in this, but it was the idea and ideology of a large body of people including the Congress leadership. Even the newspaper of Mr. Nehru, a socialist, said in an article on March 30, "On two things there would be no compromise: There would never be a division of the country to suit the taste and satisfy the ambition of fanatics." Mr. Jinnah pointed out that when those people talked of division they referred to Muslims as "fanatics," and when they talked of Hindudom and so on, they called themselves 'liberal' and 'nationalists'. This paper said that there should always be an '*akhanda raj*' and that it should be democracy, meaning thereby, majority rule. And these he mentioned," Mr. Jinnah said, "to give the Muslim India a clear

idea of the leadership of the Congress and the leadership of the Hindu Mahasabha, not to speak about the newly born Hindu League, for they were one and the same – six of the one and half a dozen of other. The only pity was, he said, that the Hindu public were also being deceived and fooled by this leadership. It would be too late for the Hindu public and the Hindus generally to say "What can we do? We were helpless." So long as you are following this leadership, you cannot escape the responsibility and the consequence that will follow from this leadership.

Bombay Conference Proposals

Mr. Jinnah next referred to the Bombay Conference and its proposals. He said that the Hindu Mahasabha had already repudiated and disowned this conference. He thought that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru on his own admission had been a political orphan for a very long time. This political orphan had been caught in a trap, because there was one obsession with him that in the event of supreme danger to India, he alone as the supreme intellect could rescue India. "His motives might be good, his intentions might be good. But I am afraid," Mr. Jinnah said, "the Sapru Conference was like a Dutch army without any privates, and I think the correct answer of the League was given in that very conference by the clear-headed, experienced Hindu political leader, Sir Chamanlal Setalvad. If Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru had only followed his advice he would have saved himself. What should I say to this pose which is now thrust upon him by the wire-pullers from behind? The Bombay proposal is nothing but, in another name, the flanking movement and a second edition of the Poona proposal of national government. If they read the memorandum explaining the Bombay resolution," Mr. Jinnah said, "there could be no doubt left in them. He did not wish to go into the details of the Bombay resolution and memorandum. But he would tell them as shortly as he could that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was entirely on the wrong path, on the wrong line and he (Mr. Jinnah) was sorry that he had been caught in the trap by

the wire-pullers and other organisations behind this move.

Warning To The British Government

Winding up his speech, Mr. Jinnah uttered what he himself characterised as "a note of warning" in slow and deliberate accents.

"I think I have taken much more time of yours than I thought I would. But it seems to me that I can only wind up on a note which is really a warning to the British Government, because, after all, they are in the possession of this land, and the government of this sub-continent.

"Please stop your policy of appeasement towards those who are bent upon frustrating the war effort, doing their best to oppose the prosecution of the war and the defence of India at this critical moment Do you want at this moment to place them in a superior and dominant position now and after the war? Change the corner-stone of the British policy in this country. You are not loyal to those who are willing to stand by you and who sincerely desire to support you. But you desire to placate those who have the greatest nuisance value in political and economic fields. Give up the dominant feature of this policy. It is that you are trying to get on what those who do not want to get on with you. If you want honestly the support and the co-operation of Muslim India place your cards on the table and take action."

The Only Weapon

Addressing a word to the delegates, Mr. Jinnah said: "We cannot always succeed in settling vital or grave problems, problems affecting life and death, by merely making speeches on this platform or by exposing our opponents and our enemies. The only weapon that you have to forge — and the sooner you forge the better — is to create your own strength, your own power and make your organisation so complete that you can face

any danger, any power, any opponent, any enemy singly or combined together."

All India Muslim League, Madras Session, April 1941, Verbatum Report of the Presidential Address (Delivered Extempore) by Quaid-e-Azam Mr. Muhammd Ali Jinnah, Printed & Published by S. Shamsul Hassan, Assistant Secretary, All India Muslim League at Muslim League Printing Printing Press, Daryaganj, Delhi, 1945.

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Statement to the Press, in reply to Babu Rajindra Prasad on the question of Pakistan, Madras, April 17, 1941

"My attention has been drawn to the statement issued by Babu Rajindra Prasad from Patna on April 16. I gather that he is not opposed to the basic principles of the scheme of partition of India but that he wants full details of the scheme, and then alone the Working Committee of the Congress will be pleased to discuss it. Will it not be a more logical course that the Congress should first make up their mind and accept the basic principles laid down in the Lahore resolution of the All-India Muslim League, popularly known as Pakistan.

"Babu Rajindra Prasad with his judicial mind ought to know that first the principle of partitioning India must be agreed upon, then alone comes the question of what ways and means should be adopted to give effect to that decision. The question of details will arise then and with good will, understanding and statesmanship, we shall, let us hope, settle them among ourselves.

Where there is a will there is a way.

Has Babu Rajindra Prasad known any example where

the details have been discussed before without the principle having been accepted? Even in the case of partition of joint families with which Babu Rajindra Prasad is so familiar, there is either an agreement or a decree, and then comes the question how best and equitably to divide the property.

Latest Examples

"The latest example in history is that of Ireland. The constitution of North and South of Ireland was finally agreed up;on after the principle and the basis of division had been settled. So was the case with Burma. Similarly, the decision to separate Sind was taken first and then the details of the scheme were considered and given effect to.

"Let the Congress drop their pistol of non-co-operation and civil disobedience and come into the arena of peaceful settlement and negotiate on the basis of Pakistan, and they would have rendered the greatest service to the Hindus, Muslims and other interests and minorities inhabiting this great sub-continent.

Contradiction In Terms

"The rest of his statement makes me feel that he is still out trying to turn and twist things. The less we talk about the attitude and the position that the Congress has taken up for the last three or four years the better. His own statement is really a contradiction in terms. He himself admits and says that during the conversations which had taken place during the last three or four years between me and the representatives of the Congress the two parties could never progress beyond the preliminary stage of settling their respective status. No concrete proposals for a settlement of the communal question had arisen. Then why say I was elusive?

Impossible Congress Position

"The two specific occasions were, first, when Mr. Subhas Bose, the then President of the Congress, and Mr. Gandhi met me in Bombay. The position taken up by the Congress was an impossible one. It was embodied in the letter addressed to me by Mr. Subhas Bose, dated October 2, 1938, that "the League does not expect the Congress, either implicity or explicity to acknowledge its status as the authoritative Muslim organisation of India." "If this view is accepted by the League I am authorised," said Mr. Bose, "to state that the Working Committee will confer with the committee that may be appointed by the League."

Congress Resolution

"On the next occasion when Babu Rajindra Prasad, the then President of the Congress, and Mr. Gandhi met me in Delhi in November 1939, they laid down that the League should support the resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress, confirmed by the All-India Congress Committee of October 10, 1939, demanding immediate and unconditional independence of India and for a declaration of the right of the people to frame their own constitution by means of a constituent assembly which was to be elected on the basis of adult franchise, and they made it clear to me that the Congress was wholly unable to treat the Muslim League as the authoritative and representative organisation of the Muslims of India.

Congress Arrogance

Both the propositions were impossible and were wholly unacceptable to me,and every time I requested that the Hindu-Muslim question must be settled first ,I was told that the communal questions could be settled after we had wrenched freedom of our country from the British; and that was also the position taken up by them before the Viceroy at the joint meeting on November 2,1939, when he requested us to put our

heads together to come to a settlement, even provisionally without prejudice to the major issues. After this to say that I was elusive is hardly fair and to say that they were disappointed is really not the correct description of the result. The truth is that the Congress position has been most arrogant and dictatorial (A.P)

The Civil & Military Gazette, April 19, 1941.

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Speech in reply to civic address presented by the City Council, Madras, April 17, 1941.

"Whatever I do and propose, either in the municipal or the political field, let me assure you that it is done with a view to bringing greater harmony and better amity among the various nations of this country," said Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

Mr. Jinnah said that India was a very complicated and the most complex problem. It was a sub-continent with 400 million people. Sometimes when new ideas were pressed, they were resented, he said, because of prejudices sentiments and subtle notions. But he was sure the time was not far off when the whole of India and all the communities would see that the cause he was advocating was the only solution and a permanent solution which would not only enable them to attain the fullest freedom but would also enable them to retain it successfully.

He thanked the members of the Corporation and wished them God-speed in their efforts in the true interest and welfare of the citizens of Madras.

The address which was presented by Mr. C. Basudev, the Mayor, enclosed in a silver casket, referred to Mr. Jinnah's long association with the public life of this country and paid him a

tribute for his patriotism and zeal in boldly championing the rights and liberties of India. It also referred to the harmony and amity with which the people of various communities lived in Madras and hoped that Mr. Jinnah's presence here would cement the bonds still further and bring the communities together in a spirit of real understanding and co-operation for the common good to the country. (A.P.)

The Civil & Military Gazette, April 18, 1941.

454

Interview with Press Representatives, Madras, April 19, 1941

"I do not wish to say anything more at present than what I have already said in my statement in reply to Babu Rajendra Prasad", said Mr. Jinnah to the press representatives who sought elucidation of the scheme of Pakistan. He declined to say anything further about it at this stage.

Referring to his health, Mr. Jinnah said that his mind could do much but the flesh would not respond. "I am extremely thankful," said Mr. Jinnah, "to the very large body of people who have been kind enough to make inquiries about my health. I am quite all right. Only I want rest and I am going to take it. I am thankful to the various communities in Madras for the kindness they have shown me during my visit and I regret that owing to my indisposition I am not able to make more contacts with the leaders of the Muslim League and workers and leaders of other parties, such as the non-Brahmins, the Scheduled Castes and Christians.

"But I hope that an opportunity will come when I shall visit this Presidency again soon. I am very much disappointed that my tour had to be cancelled. I thank those who were

preparing for it from one end of South India to the other. Had my health permitted me, I would have toured at least for three weeks."

Referring to the Press, he said: "I am thankful to the local newspapers and representatives of news agencies for their desire to give correct and full publicity to the proceedings of the All-India Muslim League session and to such other activities with which I was personally concerned during my stay in Madras."

The Civil & Military Gazette, April 20, 1941.

455

Message to the Muslims of South India, Madras, April 19, 1941

In a special message to the Muslims of South India on the eve of his departure from Madras Mr. Jinnah says: "Organise yourselves in a peaceful and orderly way and learn to work in team. We do not wish ill to any other community. But we must protect and defend our rights and interests. And in doing so, if we are compelled to resist any attempt to undermine our efforts, we shall be obliged to do all we can to avert any move of that character." (F.O.C.)

The Star of India, April 21, 1941.

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Statement releasing the correspondence between him and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Chikballpur (Mysore), May 1, 1941.

Mr. Jinnah, releasing the correspondence between him and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, issued the following statement, "Let

me at once deal with at least one point in the personal statement of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru published on April 29, with regard to his efforts to what he calls bringing Mr. Gandhi and me together. Here is the correspondence that passed between me and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and it speaks for itself.

His promise to communicate with me further made in his letter, dated February 19, remained unfulfilled. Having taken the initiative he had not the courtesy to inform me as to the result of his efforts and as to the causes and reasons of his failure and it is hardly fair that he should now pontifically pronounce in his statement that he does not wish to apportion between the leaders, and yet in another place in his statement he characterises me as 'intractable' leader, when by my letter dated February 19, I at once showed my willingness as suggested by him to meet Mr. Gandhi or any other Hindu leader to have heart-to-heart conversations.

As regards other matters and points raised in Sir T.B. Sapru's personal statement and in the statement of the so-called standing committee of the Sapru Conference I shall, if necessary, deal with them later when I have had sufficient time to examine them carefully."

Letter from Sir T. B. Sapru to Mr. Jinnah, dated Allahabad, February, 6, 1941.

My dear Jinnah,

Since we met last in Bombay a few months ago I have several times thought of writing to you but I have never been able up to this moment to make up my mind. Even now when I have decided to write to you I am writing this letter with considerable hesitation as if I cannot make things better than they are at present. I certainly do not in all conscience want to make them worse. But I believe that since 1916 when we came together in the old Indian Legislative Council you have known

my views on the Hindu-Muslim question, and I am, therefore, venturing to hope that you will not misunderstand my point of view.

Although I have not been taking active part in politics of the country for the last few years, the old interest still survives, and I followed fairly closely the trend of recent events. These have only tended to confirm me in my belief that supreme necessity of the hour is a settlement between the Hindus and the Muslims or, to put it in terms of party politics, between the Congress and the Hindu Sabha and the Muslim League. It is my misfortune that owing to some very strong convictions I have found it impossible to join either of the first two, and for obvious reasons I could not be a member of the organisation of which you are the President, and yet I feel that so long as the three big organised bodies of public opinion in India remain in their present state of relationship to each other the future of this country cannot by any means be bright.

It is not my purpose to discuss in this letter which of the three parties to blame. I think that a discussion of ' is character can never lead to any good: indeed, I think instead of doing good it may do positive harm. You will remember that in August last when we met at Bombay I told you that if the Congress and the Hindu Sabha would not or were not prepared to call a conference for the purpose of setting differences, there was no reason why you as the President of a great and influential League should not take the step forward. Since then I have been giving this matter my constant attention and last I have made up my mind to make a personal appeal to you. I do not, however, pretend to sail under false colours. I represent neither the one party nor the other. I can neither offer nor accept terms. I can only appeal to you in my individual capacity – in the capacity of one who strongly and genuinely holds that the Muslims are an integral part of India and that their willing co-operation with other communities must necessarily condition the nature, extent

and speed of the progress of the country.

I am deliberately avoiding all reference to the controversial issues that divide the one from the other, as it is not for me to settle them but for you and leaders of other parties who can influence opinion and speak for others to raise these issues and to come to a settlement in regard to them. As a realist, I feel that not only you but Mr. Gandhi and the leaders of the Hindu Sabha, particularly Mr. Savarkar are the men on whom the primary responsibility for a settlement of those issues lies.

Meeting Suggested

Neither speeches on public platforms nor statements and interviews given by leaders can really help the situation. I think conversations or, if I may use a hackneyed phrase, heart-to-heart conversations, may possibly lead to some satisfaction of knowing that everything has been done which could be done to bring about a better state of feeling and understanding.

I am, therefore, venturing to suggest on my own account without committing any other party to my views or suggestions that you should agree first to meet Mr. Gandhi and then the process of private talks could be extended to others; If you and other leaders then think that it would serve the best interests of the country to invite a joint conference, then you all could take the necessary step. I can assure you of my personal support and co-operation in this matter.

If your reply to my suggestion is that you will be prepared to see Mr. Gandhi and talk over matters with him, I shall write to him and press it on him that he must see you at Bombay or any other place that may suit your convenience. I hope very strongly that he will be quite willing to see you in Bombay or any other convenient place and discuss things with you. I think you two should meet first, for if the country is dear

to him, I believe, it is not less dear to you. You may be at present identified with the Muslim League; it may be a necessity of the situation that you should be leading the Muslim League. I have no kind of prejudice against the League or anyone connected with it and so far as you are concerned. I still prefer to look upon you as I used in the days gone-by; when other people also looked to you for guidance and advocacy of the cause of India, irrespective of caste, colour or creed.

If you are willing to see Mr. Gandhi and to discuss things, I hope you will permit me to take him into confidence about what you write to me.

Always Ready

Letter from Mr. Jinnah to Sir T. B. Sapru, dated Bombay, February 10, 1941.

My dear Sapru,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 7th instant and thank you for it. I have given to it my closest attention and consideration, coming as it does from you.

The main purpose on which you concentrated is directed towards trying to induce me to agree to see Mr. Gandhi. I am sorry to find that you are under the impression that I am reluctant and opposed to seeing Mr. Gandhi or any other Hindu leader on behalf of the Hindu community, for you say in your letter that I should agree first to see Mr. Gandhi. Then you proceed to say further: 'If your reply to my suggestion is that you will be prepared to see Mr. Gandhi and talk over matters with him, I shall write to him and press it upon him that he must see you at Bombay or any other place that may suit your convenience.' Please remove this erroneous impression from your mind. I have always been ready and willing to see Mr. Gandhi or any other Hindu leader on behalf of the Hindu community and do all I can to help the solution of Hindu-

Muslim problem.

As regards other matters in your letter, I cannot do better than to send you a press cutting giving the full text of the speech that I made in the course of the debate in the Assembly on the Supplementary Finance Bill last November, as I fear that your attention, if at all, could have been drawn only to the summary that appeared in most of the papers at the time. This will give you some idea of the position and the point of view of the Muslim League.

I thank you for your personal reference to me which, I need not say, I appreciate very much.

Letter from Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to Mr. Jinnah, dated Allahabad, February 19, 1941.

My dear Jinnah,

Thank you ever so much for your kind letter of February 10. I regret to say that I have been having high fever for the last five or six days and am therefore unable to attend to any political correspondence. As soon as I get better, I shall write to you again about the matter about which I wrote to you on February 6. I appreciate very much the promptness with which you have so kindly replied to me. (A.P.)

The Civil & Military Gazette, May 2, 1941.

457

Statement on Sapru (Bombay) Conference, Nandi Hills, Banglore, May 4, 1941

"First let me deal with the genesis of the conference, I have ample information to repeat that it was engineered by the

agents of the Congress and Hindu Mahasabha leaders, although well known and prominent Congress leaders remained in the background and that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, consciously or unconsciously, has allowed his name to be associated with this move. It was an obvious manoeuvre and contrivance designed by a small coterie of men who were anxious to stage it expressly before the India debate which was announced to take place in Parliament after the Easter recess.

"On Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's own showing the leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha were behind it, but immediately after the conference was over, it was authoritatively stated at the meeting of the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha that the Hindu Mahasabha was not officially connected with the Bombay Conference, and that the Hindu Mahasabha was free to take its own decision on any settlement that may arise out of these negotiations.

League Disregarded

"The very nature and character of the proposals put forward by this conference clearly indicate that they were designed to meet the demands of Mr. Gandhi, the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha, in total disregard of the position of the Muslim League. In fact, it met the Congress Poona demand for 'national government' in effect at the Centre, and its acceptance by the British Government would have automatically torpedoed the Muslim League demand of Pakistan. Therefore, the object of this conference was and its resolutions were intended to make way smooth for the Congress and to enable Mr. Gandhi to give up satyagraha and return to normal politics with credit, substantial gain and victory over all others.

A Coincidence

"Further, the meeting of the conference and its resolutions and its proposals synchronised with a bold lead given

by the *Hindu* of Madras — an out-and-out Congress paper — urging upon Mr. Gandhi to give up satyagraha. The conference and its resolutions were received with the deepest sympathies by the Congress press generally. Ordinarily such a conference of self-appointed delegates would have been at once dubbed as nonentities and men who represented nobody. After the resolution was passed the *Hindu* gave the best certificate to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in the following terms: — 'These proposals not only constituted a considerable approximation to the Congress demand but they represent a very substantial agreement amongst all the progressive elements of the country.'

"Of course, Muslim India of 100 millions, the Scheduled Castes of 60 millions and millions of non-Brahmins of Southern India do not count or matter, and as regards the Indian States they do not even exist. All that was aimed at was how best to satisfy Mr. Gandhi and the Congress. The origin and the paternity of Sapru proposals can easily be traced to the author of the Delhi-cum-Poona Congress demand for national government. Mr. Rajagopalacharya, who carried the day at the cost of Mr. Gandhi being thrown overboard, not only received permission and advice of Mr. Gandhi that the Poona resolution should be enforced but curiously Mr. Gandhi went further and actually recommended and advised the Muslim league and even the Princes to welcome it and support it wholeheartedly; and notwithstanding his implicit faith in his creed of non-violence, he proceeded to advise the British Government in the following terms: 'I advise as a disinterested but staunch friend that the British Government should not reject the hand of friendship offered by the Congress.' Is this consistent with *ahimsa* and truth?

C.R.S. Initiative

Recently at a public meeting at Trichinopoly, which, as reported in the press, was held on April 19, the leader of the

Non-Brahmin Justice Party, Mr. Ramaswamy Naicker stated that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru had no intention of ever convening the conference to end the deadlock, but that it has at the instance of Mr. K.Srinivasan, managing editor of the *Hindu*, who in turn was pressed by Mr. Rajagopalacharya to prevail on Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to convene a meeting and pass a resolution which was to all intents and purposes drafted by Mr. Rajagopalacharya. I wish Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru had followed the sound advice of Sir Chimanlal Setalved and not allowed his name and reputation to be exploited by those who were behind the move.

A Decade Behind

"Evidently, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is still living in the atmosphere of the Round Table Conference. He does not realise that since then much water has run down the Jumna, and when he appeals to the British Government to take the initiative and impose a constitution upon India he is at least a decade behind. On the other hand, he himself says: 'During the Round Table Conference discussions, when Mr. Ramsay MacDonald consulted me about the Communal Award, I told him point-blank that if I were the British Prime Minister, I should not undertake the responsibility, and yet, notwithstanding the fact that there was no arrangement between the Hindus and the Muslims, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's Government, which consisted also of Conservatives, went on with their scheme: gave first the Communal Award and then introduced the India Bill.' What has happened to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to deviate from the wise and statesmanlike advice which he gave to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the then Prime Minister? He now desires that the British Government should force or impose a constitution, interim or final, although there may be no agreement between the Hindus and Muslims. In fact Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru should be the first to appreciate that the Muslim League has succeeded in persuading the British Government by means of

representations and correspondence that the whole constitutional field should be re-examined, and that no change in the adoption of any final constitutional scheme should be decided upon by the British Government without the approval and consent of Muslim India.

Breach Of Faith

"That was precisely the statesmanlike advice which Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru tendered to the then British Prime Minister when he unfortunately failed. What is the use of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru asking the British Government to go back upon their solemn pledge given by their declaration of policy, dated August 8, which would be considered by Muslim India as a gross breach of faith with them? What is the use of appealing to the British Government to impose any interim or final constitution contrary not to the wishes of Muslim India and other powerful minorities and the Indian States but in the teeth of their opposition? To say that the Indian problem, as it exists to-day, will defy any solution if solution depends on Indian efforts, is to argue ourselves out of court with our claim for freedom and independence. If we cannot agree upon a scheme of constitution, how on earth are we going to manage together or run any kind of sovereign or independent government?

Essential Pre-requisite

Mr. Amery has made it quite clear by his speech of April 22 as to what was the essence of the August declaration of His Majesty's Government. To put it in his own words, it was that the "framework of India's future constitution should be devised by Indians themselves and not by this House That was a far-reaching and, indeed, revolutionary announcement, the full importance of which has not, I think, been fully appreciated either in this country or India."

Then he says further: "Even more important in this

connection is the stipulation that the constitution itself and also the body which is to frame it, must be the outcome of agreement between the principal elements in India's national life. That is an essential pre-requisite to the success of the future constitution. For if Indians cannot agree upon the kind of constitution they are prepared to work, how are they like to agree upon the actual working of it?" He adds later, "I have dwelt deliberately upon Indian responsibility in the matter: for unless Indians are prepared to face that responsibility now, they will fail it hereafter. Any agreement imposed by us from without cannot survive withdrawal of our power tc enforce it. Only a real arrangement freely reached can stand that test."

The Hon'ble Member, Mr. Godfrey Nicholson, in the course of the debate said: 'The venus has left Westminster and is now in India.' This was the advice Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru tendered to the British Government ten years ago. Only he failed. But now it is described repeatedly *ad nauseam* that this gives a veto to Mr. Jinnah and the Muslims and it is said that 'practically the present position of the Secretary of State for India is that until it pleases Mr. Jinnah His Majesty's Government can do nothing to give effect to their own intentions.' Surely this was fully explained by Mr. Amery as far back as the 14th of August when he amplified the declaration of August 8. He said: "Agreement by consent is, indeed, the foundation of all free government, of all true democracy. Decision by majority is not so much of the essence of democracy as a practical convenience which pre-supposes for its proper working an antecedent general consent to the constitution itself. It has, indeed, in most federal constitutions been limited in various ways in order to safeguard the separate interests of the federating elements. To describe the need for such agreement as a veto on constitutional progress is, I think, to do an injustice to the patriotism and sense of responsibility of those concerned. Agreement means not veto by any element but compromise, and

willingness to compromise in India as elsewhere is an essential test of the sense of responsibility on which a free government must be based."

Separate Constituent Factor

Further, it is recognised that Muslim India is a separate constituent factor in any future Indian policy, entitled to be treated as such in any discussion for the shaping of India's future constitution, and it is, as other elements, not to be regarded as mere numerical minority.

Let me here quote the words of a well-known British writer, Patrick Lacy: "If they say we cannot agree ourselves on terms for our advance hand in hand to freedom under a single responsible government, let the Hindu nation and the Muslim nation go ahead as well as they can separately. Don't hold us back together just because we quarrel. Let us say we will rather have two free Indian dominions each as nearly homogeneous as it can be than one enormous cock-pit of feud: under the ignominy of alien rule."

I would like Mr. Amery also to ponder over this and not talk so much of the 'immense difficulties.' No constitutional scheme for India will be free from difficulties. The question is which scheme is fraught with the least amount of difficulties. I am afraid his reference to the Balkan States and his reference to Indian history in the 18th century are totally irrelevant. He had better study the history of Ireland which is nearer home.

A Crooked Statement

Now with regard to the statement issued by the so-called standing committee composed of Mr. Aney, Sardar Sant Singh, Mr. Shiv Rao, who is supposed to be the joint secretary, and last but not least Sir Jagdish Prasad, the secretary, it is a crooked and tortuous statement and in certain parts perversion of truth. It indulges in attacks all-round mainly on the Muslim League and myself. The whole burden of the song in the

statement is directed against me as Charles's head. They complain that the British Government have come back on their declared policy without having understood the declaration of the 8th of August, and they have indulged in complete misrepresentation of the Muslim League and say that it does not represent Muslim India which is untrue to their knowledge. It is a worthless document intended purely for the purpose of propaganda to mislead the ignorant and credulous people of India and abroad. I would not have taken notice of it if the name of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru had not been associated with it. (A.P.)

The Civil & Military Gazette, May 6, 1941.

458

Message to Star of India refuting the report of his Congratulating message to Dr. Ziauddin, Nandi Hills, May 14, 1941.

Anent a report from our Aligarh correspondent (published in these columns on May 8) that Mr. Jinnah sent a message congratulating Dr. Ziauddin on his election as Vice-Chancellor of the Muslim University, Aligarh, Mr. Jinnah in a telegraphic message to us from the Nandi Hills refutes the report and says that he has sent no message to Dr. Sir Ziauddin.

The Star of India, May 16, 1941.

459

Interview to the press appreciating the ability of Sir Mirza Ismail, Banglore, May 15, 1941.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, in an interview referring to Sir Mirza Ismail's retirement from the Dewanship of Mysore, said;

"That a representative of a minority community of five lakhs of people should have so successfully conducted the administration of a big State like Mysore for a period of 15 years speaks of his ability, tact, thoroughness and foresight. It should be an object lesson to every Muslim in the State. These are some of the qualities that pave the way for the success of individuals and communities." (A.P.I.)

The Star of India, May 17, 1941.

460

Statement during an interview with the President and members of the Mysore State Muslim League, Nandi Hills (Banglore), May 18, 1941.

The Pakistan scheme of the All-India Muslim League had nothing to do with the States, declared Mr. M. A. Jinnah in an interview with the President and members of the Mysore State Muslim League at Nandi Hills. The Muslim Leagues in the States were not under the control of the all-India body, nor was there any question of affiliation of the State Leagues to the All-India League.

Mr Jinnah said that affiliation would raise many thorny questions such as the constitutional status of the respective States, their relation with the Sovereign Power and many other details which for the present might well be let out.

But, though the parent body might have to direct connection with the State Leagues, yet the latter might look to the former for support and sympathy whenever the rights of the Muslims of the States were ignored or trampled upon. Rajkot, Jaipur and Hyderabad provided a few instances where the help rendered by the All-India Muslim League succeeded in setting

matter right.

He advised the members of the Mysore State Muslim League to devote their attention to popularising education and to work for the economic advancement of the Muslims of the State. He asked the community to organise itself and make a united demand, conscious of their cause. No Government, however powerful, could fail to be impressed with the just demand of the people, he added. (A.P.)

The Civil & Military Gazette, May 20, 1941.

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Statement on the Sapru Conference circulated to all branches of the League, May 23, 1941

The following is the full text of the document received from Mr. Jinnah and circulated to the provincial units of the League for extensive distribution.

Character Of The Conference

Before dealing with the proposals of the Sapru Conference let me deal with the character of the conference. The so-called Non-Party Conference specially invited leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha and also Mr. Srinivasan; editor of the *Hindu*. It is known that Mr. Srinivasan is in the confidence of Mr. Rajagopalacharya. The memorandum submitted by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to the Viceroy says that leaders of the Liberal Party were also invited. What difference is there between a member of the Liberal Party, the Congress, the Hindu League, and the Hindu Mahasabha? The conference was composed of men of practically the same school of thought and of elements that are against the Muslim League. Mr. Aney, the President of the All-India Hindu League, whose activities against the Muslim League are well-known, is taking an even more active part in the

standing committee of the conference.

League Ignored

I can understand that when Mr. Gandhi was approached and when he declined to participate in the conference, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru did not trouble to invite any other Congressman, especially when the Congress had decided not to co-operate. But why was the Muslim League ignored? The Muslim League had not decided to non-cooperate with the Government or with the war movement. It has never yet been hinted that it would resort to civil disobedience. On the contrary the Muslim League had placed no difficulty in the prosecution of the war or in any other way embarrassed the British Government but had taken up a very reasonable attitude, that is, that it was not possible for it, without real authority in the government of the country, to secure the whole-hearted and enthusiastic support of the Muslim India.

Conference Proposals

Coming to the proposals issued by the Sapru Conference, it is clear that they incorporated three main demands from the British Government:

(1) The entire Executive Council of the Governor-General should be reconstructed and should be composed of non-official members and all portfolios, including Finance and Defence, should be transferred to non-official Indians drawn from important elements of public life.

(2) That the Government at the Centre so constituted should be treated in regard to all internal and international matters on the same footing as a Dominion Government.

(3) That the British Government should issue a new declaration that within a fixed period after the conclusion of the war the British Government should commit itself to

establish in India a Dominion and give it the status and powers enjoyed by Great Britain and the Dominions.

From these proposals, taken together, it is evident that they stood for nothing but an immediate, united and democratic government at the Centre with the pretence that only for the duration of the war it would be responsible to the Crown and would assume the permanent character of a Dominion Government after a certain period by virtue of the new declaration. Emergency and permanent governments were both to be constituted on the basis of India being taken as a single unit.

Prejudgeing Constitutional Problems

If this scheme were accepted and if the British Government were to commit itself to it, it is clear that it would have meant completely cancelling the declaration of August 8, which would have been the grossest breach of faith with Muslim India and other minorities. The underlying idea was to get the British Government by hook or by crook to denounce and reject the Muslim League demand for the partition of India. The acceptance of these proposals would have meant without doubt prejudging the future constitutional problems and other adjustments. The proposals further involved a fundamental change in the present constitution of India which would require an amendment of the Government of India Act and adjustments between the Provincial and Central Governments and of the relations with the Indian States.

Not Representative

As for the representative character of the reconstructed Executive Council of the Governor-General how could its non-official Indian members be drawn from the important element of public life when it was admitted that the Congress would have nothing to do with the proposals, when the Hindu Mahasabha

had declared that it stood in no way committed to or connected with them, when the Muslim League was opposed to it, and when the various minorities were not even represented at the conference?

Same Policy

The so-called Non-Party Sapru Conference adopted the same policy which the Hindu Mahasabha did, and which approximates to that of the Poona Congress resolution passed long before this conference matured. The Hindu Mahasabha had demanded by its official resolution that the British Government should denounce and immediately reject the Muslim League demand for partition and declare in favour of united and democratic India and pledge itself to enact, within one year after the war, a constitution on that basis and to give India the status and powers enjoyed by Great Britain or any other Dominion. The Congress on the other hand means the same thing though in different language, posing as an all-India body standing for complete independence.

League Position

Now let as examine the position of the Muslim League in the light of these proposals and in the light of present-day politics. Ever since the war started and even to-day the position of the Muslim League has been and still is that within the framework of the existing constitution and part from issues and problems that may arise when we come to tackle the future problems of the Indian constitution we were and are still ready and willing to assume responsibility for the prosecution of the war and the defence of India, provided a real and substantial share in the authority of the Government and the Centre and in the Provinces is given to representatives of the All-India Muslim League.

Exorbitant Demand

The difficulty that was created was due to the Congress refusing to take up this reasonable attitude and secondly to the fact that the Hindu Mahasabha, which could not claim to represent a solid body of Hindus, put forward an exorbitant demand that its representation in the proposed expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council should be according to population.

Equal Representation

The Muslim League declared that this was an emergency war arrangement and, therefore, if the Congress came in as representing all Hindus and as the Muslim League represents all Muslims both should have equal representations in this arrangement; and if the Congress refused to come in, it was obvious that the main burden would fall on the shoulders of the Muslim League, and, therefore, it should have a majority in the Executive Council. Lastly,, the Muslim League wanted an assurance that in the event of the Congress coming in later the Muslim League's position would be secured, and that it wold not be let down.

It has also made it clear that in the meantime the British Government should not do anything which would in any way militate against the Muslim League proposal to partition India.

What exactly was the reason why the Viceroy and the British Government suspended this arrangement of the expansion of the Executive Council within the frame-work of the present constitution, it is difficult to realise and understand, although it is given out that the reason was that the Muslim League in particular asked for a measure of representation as against the Hindu element and made stipulations as to the future which the Viceroy could not see his way to accepting. In

the light of the above fact which is the only true version, this is not quite the correct position to attribute to the Muslim League.(O.P.)

The Star of India, May 25, 1941.

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Message to the Mysore University Union, Mysore, May 28, 1941.

"Not to be led away by the slogans and high sounding words of leaders, but to hear them and to maintain your own independent judgment on every question". This is the "message" of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League to the members of the Mysore University Union which he visited prior to his departure for Ootacamund.

In the course of his talk with the members of the Union Quaid-e-Azam said that the real cause of our communal troubles was neither economic nor religious but lay in the sharing of the powers that might be transferred to Indians in a new Constitution.

The Hindu-Muslim problem, he said was a peculiar one in India without any parallel in the whole World and he declared only a change of heart would ease the tension. (A.P.I.)

The Star of India, May 30, 1941.

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Speech at a Public Meeting, Ootacamund, June 2, 1941

"The time is not far distant when Pakistan will be adopted by every Indian in spite of the false and misleading

propaganda against it," declared Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, addressing a public meeting at the Gymkhana pavilion, Ootacamund, when he was presented with an address of welcome by the local Muslims.

It was his firm conviction, said Mr. Jinnah, that what he was advocating was not only in the interests of the Muslims but of the other communities also. India in his opinion was never a single nation and had never a "national government," let alone even a form of representative or parliamentary government. It was always autocratic rule, whether by a Hindu or a Muslim ruler.

"It is the British bayonet," he declared, "that is now holding India together and the moment it is withdrawn, India will cease to be even a geographical unit."

Reiterating his faith in Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah said: "I believe as an individual, certainly an overwhelming majority of Mussalmans believe, that Pakistan is the only solution for getting our freedom. When I say our freedom, I mean freedom of Hindus and Mussalmans, who really constitute the two major nations in this country."

He asserted that Pakistan was the only means by which India could get freedom in the quickest possible time.

Not Vivsection

Proceeding, Mr. Jinnah said: "So long as the Hindus remain Hindus and Muslims remain Muslims, the Hindu nation, which is in majority in India, cannot but give expression to its will, faith, culture and social order. Willingly or unwillingly, these will be imposed on the Muslims who are of a different nation and civilisation. Hence the Muslims ask that where they are in a majority they should be allowed to have their own way of life and that where Hindus are in majority they should continue to have their way of life, each nation according

to its own philosophy, faith and culture. To describe such a proposal as vivisecting India is to poison the minds of the people."

Dealing with the question of minorities, Mr. Jinnah said: "The minorities are not going to be neglected, be they Muslims in Hindu zones or Hindus in Muslim zones. In any settlement that may be reached we shall see that Muslim minorities are safeguarded fully and to the same extent as any minority would be safeguarded under any civilised government. This will apply equally to Hindu minorities in Muslim zones."

Replying to the criticism that Pakistan would not solve the minority problem, the League President asked: "Was it the only way to solve the minority problem that 90 millions of Mussalmans should remain a minority for ever in India and under Hindu Raj?"

"I want to know," said Mr. Jinnah in conclusion, "who it is that is fair and just, the man who wants the whole and keeps you down or who says: Give me the one-third which is my homeland and keep your two-thirds and let us be friends? I leave the verdict to you." (A.P.)

The Civil & Military Gazette, June 4, 1941.

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Speech at a reception given in his honour, Banglore, June 8, 1941

"Let me emphasise that many leaders have exploited you in the past under the name of Muslim leadership and, mind you, that chapter is not yet closed. I give you that warning. There are people who have got one foot in one camp and the other in

another camp. Sometimes they speak one way and sometimes they speak the other way. You have therefore got to be very careful in choosing your leadership," said Mr. M. A. Jinnah at a reception accorded to him by the Islamia Club.

Mr. Jinnah arrived in Bangalore on Saturday night from Ootacamund via Mysore. Prior to the reception by the Islamia Club, Mr. Jinnah was taken in a procession through the principal streets of the Cantonment.

Mr. Jinnah continuing said that the Muslim League had given the Muslims of India a flag and a platform and their national goal was Pakistan. Pakistan was the goal for which every Muslim should in the morning and evening say to himself: 'It is a goal worth living for and worth dying for.'

The political issues which were faming them at present of the gravest character which would decide the future destiny of 90 million Muslims. It was a matter of life-and-death struggle to them. They were struggling and fighting not with a view to harm others but with a view to live with honour and integrity and as a free man and not under any "raj," be it Hindu "raj" or any other in this country. The Muslim nation was determined to get itself free and establish Pakistan and the sooner that was realised the better.

Mr. Jinnah advised the local Muslims to organise themselves and undertake a constructive programme in order that they might uplift the Muslims of the Cantonment economically, socially and educationally. (A.P.)

The Civil & Military Gazette, June 10, 1941.

465

Reply to the Adress presented by the Mysore State Muslim League, Banglore, June 8, 1941.

"You are here in a different State. We are in a different State. Constitutionally and internationally, you are in a sovereign State which is different from the sovereign State in British India. But whether it be Mysore or any other corner of the world, there is that national affinity and the national regard and affection for each other wherever a Muslim may be. The children of Islam know no boundaries and limitations," said Mr. M. A. Jinnah, replying to an address presented by the President and members of the Mysore State Muslim League.

Dealing with the constitutional reforms in Mysore, Mr. Jinnah was glad that Mr. Mahomed Imam, a candidate returned to the Mysore Legislature on the State Muslim League ticket, had been chosen by the Maharaja as a Minister. He hoped that Mr. Imam would do his duty fearlessly and independently with a view to seeing that justice and fairplay was meted out to Muslims.

"Unfortunately I am sorry to say," added Mr. Jinnah, "not only in Mysore but in British India, sometimes people who rise from the rungs, of the ladder by means of which they have risen to high positions have very often kicked the ladder. But let me tell you that it is in your hands to see that you are the final masters. May be because of selfishness or self-interest or self-aggrandisement, we may be let down either by our representatives or by our leaders or Ministers. You remember there is nothing very powerful and effective as a solid and united public opinion and you can make your leaders or destroy them as you like.

"We find in other countries also these things do happen, but I think our country is full of such men who have got one foot here, one foot in a second place and one foot in a third place and they speak and act according to circumstances. Beware of those people and when you learn and acquire that training, education and experience which will enable you to choose the right leader then, I tell you, half of your work has been done."

Mr. Jinnah explained that the reason for the organisation of Muslim Leagues either in a State or in British India was that in the conditions under which they were living there was no other way and it must be recognised frankly and honestly that each community had to look after and safeguard its own interests. But that did not mean that the two great communities should not work together in a friendly spirit.

After all, if this constitutional reform experiment inaugurated in Mysore could succeed, it could do so only if the different communities worked together in co-operation and harmony. The majority community should create a sense of security and confidence in the minorities. That was the acid test of any constitutional government.

Concluding, Mr. Jinnah paid a tribute to the Maharaja of Mysore. He said that he had the impression that His Highness was really going to be just, fair and sympathetic. Mr. Jinnah advised the Muslims of Mysore to concentrate their activities in the direction of uplift of their community educationally, socially, economically and particularly in rural uplift of the masses and the poor. (A.P.)

The Civil & Military Gazette, June 10, 1941.

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Statement nominating the members of the Leagues' Working Committee, Bombay, June 15, 1941.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah has nominated the following to be memberes of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim Leaguee:

Mr. A.K. Fazlul Huq, Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, Maulana Muhammad Akram Khan, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Sir Muhammad Shah Nawaz Khan of Mamdot, Malik Bharkat Ali, Haji Sait Sir Abdulla Haroon, Mr. G.M. Syed, Sardar Muhammad Aurangazeb Khan, Khan Bakht Jamal Khan, Kazi Muahmmad Isa, Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim, Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Ishaq Sait, Chowdhuri Khaliq-uz-Zaman, Raja Muhammad Amir Ahmed Khan of Mahmudabad. Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan of Meerut, Mr. Syed Hussain Imam, Moulvi Latiffur Rahman, Abdul Matin Chaudhry and Begum Muhammad Ali. (A.P.I.)

The Star of India, June 16, 1941.

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Statement on British Policy and the Sapru Conference, Bombay, July 28, 1941.

'Little things please little minds.

The Sapru Conference has either failed to understand the decision of His Majesty's Government or else it suits them to misunderstand when they flatter themselves by stating in their resolution that 'they note with satisfaction that the original position taken up by His Majesty's Government and the Governor-General that unless there was an agreement between

the major political parties in India, no progress was possible, has been abandoned.'

"No such declaration was made by His Majesty's Government. What His Majesty's Government have solemnly declared and that stands good so far, is that 'no constitutional change, interim or final, will be undertaken by the Parliament unless there has been antecedent agreement not only between the geographical units but also between the main social elements, both as to the method of framing the constitution and as to the constitution itself.

"His Majesty's Government and the Viceroy made their offer – a concrete offer – of the expansion of the Executive Council and setting up of a Defence Advisory Council in August last to the Muslim League, within the framework of the present constitution; which accepted the position that there would be majority of Indians. That offer was not acceptable to the Muslim League on two grounds. Firstly, that it was merely an inflation of the Executive Council and it did not give real share in the authority and power of the Government. Secondly, that in the event of the Congress agreeing to come in, the Muslim representatives should be equal in number to that of Hindus otherwise they should have a majority, as the main responsibility would fall on the Mussalmans of India.

Original Intention

"What is really to be regretted is the departure from the original intention that Executive Council was to have representatives of the major political parties with a real share in the authority of the Government. But the Viceroy has now instead nominated a certain number of men to his Executive Council; explaining in the communique that as result of the increased pressure of work during the war it has been decided to enlarge the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India, and it has been amplified by Mr. Amery in Parliament, that no

constitutional change is involved in these announcements,' once more emphasizing that these changes are in no way concerned with the constitutional developments in India, and once more emphasizing the previous statements of his that 'it has been made clear that constitutional changes in India are quite impracticable while the British Empire is engaged in the vital struggle for its existence, and the agreement between major political parties and interests in India is of fundamental consideration for any new constitutional scheme.'

"Nevertheless, this decision, it should be realised, will block the way of any scheme of associating the representatives of the political parties with real power and authority, even within the frame-work of the present constitution.

"The real aim and object of the Sapru Conference is to put all pressure upon the British Government and the Viceroy to go back on their solemn declaration of August 8 and get them to denounce and condemn the Muslim League proposal for Pakistan. I am confident that the British Government will not budge from their solemn declaration and promise, because it will involve the grossest breach of faith with Muslim India and, secondly, any such attempt will be resisted by the Muslims of India with all the powers that they can command.

Partition

"It is wickedly represented that the Muslim League is an anti-Hindu movement, simply because the Muslim League firmly believes that the only solution of India's constitutional problem lies in the partition of India as proposed by it. It has no designs on Hindu India. On the contrary it wishes well and Godspeed to Hindu India to manage vast territories which constitute their homelands, and let us manage our homelands where we are in majority. On the other hand, a large section of the Hindu leaders openly stand for Hinduism, Hindu raj, Hindu industries and commerce, and their design is to keep the

Mussalmans under the domination of Hindu raj, and this is their conception of a 'united democratic and national India.'

"Some of the leaders of this school of thought and the leading members of the Hindu Mahasabha, Mr. Savarkar and Dr. Moonje, who recently threatened the British Government that if a Muslim Defence Minister was appointed the Hindus would consider it an act of hostility towards Hindu India, are prominent "stars" of this so-called Non-Party Conference.

"With regard to Mr. Jayakar's retort to him (Mr. Jinnah), as reported in the press, about this criticism that the organisers of the conference were like the Dutch army, only generals, I will only say that Mr. Jayakar was not then one of the conferees. He is a new recruit, and I am glad of his admission. But it comes with a very ill grace from a man of his career to taunt some of those who have deserted the Muslim League when he himself has deserted more than one party during his political career not at the first blast but at first whiff. May I remind Mr. Jayakar of the saying that 'one swallow does not make a summer.'

The Star of India, July 27, 1941.

468

Statement regarding taking disciplinary action against League members who have joined Defence Council, Hyderabad (Dn.), July 30, 1941.

Disciplinary action is threatened against those members of the All-India Muslim League who have joined the viceroy's expanded Council and the National Defence Council in a statement issued by Mr. M. A. Jinnah to the Press.

Mr. Jinnah: "In view of the numerous telegrams and

letters I have received, I wish to state that it has been definitely decided to take disciplinary action against those members of the Muslim League organisation who have associated themselves with the scheme decided upon by the Government regarding the expansion of the Executive Council of the viceroy and constituting the so-called National Defence Council.

"In order to secure and maintain discipline and a correct standard of public life there is no alternative but to take disciplinary action against Sultan Ahmad, who has joined the expanded Executive Council of the viceroy, and against Sir Muhammad Saadullah, Mr. A.K. Fazlul Huq, the Nawab of Chhattari, Begum Shah Nawaz and Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, who while they are members of the All-India Muslim League organisation joined the so-called National Defence Council under the scheme announced by the communique of the Government dated July 21, 1941 without reference to or the knowledge of the leader of the Executive of the organisation and contrary to the decision of the All-India Muslim League and its general policy. The only question that remains under consideration is the matter of procedure." (A.P.)

The Civil & Military Gazette, August 1, 1941.

469

Message on Iqbal Day, Hyderabad (Dn), August 9, 1941

"Every great movement has a philosopher and Iqbal was the philosopher of the National Renaissance of Muslim India. He, in his works has left an exhaustive and most valuable legacy behind him, and a message not only for the Mussalmans but for all the other nations of the world. Iqbal was a poet who inspired Muslim India with a spirit and determination to restore to Islam

its former glory, and although he is no more with us, his memory will grow younger and younger with the progress and development of Muslim India.

His works should, therefore, be read and digested by every Mussalman and we should all try to create solidarity and organise the Muslims throughout India, economically, educationally, socially and politically."

QAP-F-874/169

470

Statement releasing his correspondence with Nawab of Chhattari, Hyderabad, August 14, 1941

Pending the decision of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League which will discuss at its meeting on August 24 the question of disciplinary action to be taken against those members of the League who have joined the Viceroy's Executive Council and the National Defence Council, Mr. Jinnah has not accepted the resignation of the membership of the Council of the All-India Muslim League tendered by the Nawab of Chhattari.

Mr. Jinnah has released to the Press the following correspondence which passed between him and the Nawab of Chhattari:

(From Chhattari to Mr. Jinnah)

Chattari, July 20.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

As I have accepted a salaried appointment in an Indian State I write this to tender my resignation of the membership of

the Council of the All India Muslim League. It is needless for me to say that your good wishes and blessings would always be a source of great strength to me. I am sure that they would not be denied.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
(Sd), Ahmad Said.

(*From Mr. Jinnah to Chhattari*):

Guest House, Hyderabad (Dn.),
July 30.

Dear Nawab Sahib,

I received your letter dated July 20 from Chhattari in the afternoon of July 24.

On examining the envelope I find that it was posted and registered at Delhi on July 22 and I beg to inform you that it was decided before the receipt of your letter to take disciplinary action against you, as indicated by my statement issued on 21st, for having joined the so-called National Defence Council, as you were a member of the Muslim League.

I regret therefore that, apart from the technicality that your letter should have been addressed to the Secretary, I am unable to accept your resignation pending the result of the disciplinary action that has to be taken against you. However, I am forwarding your letter to the Secretary to the All-India Muslim League.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. A. Jinnah

The Civil & Military Gazette, August 15, 1941.

471

Message to the Muslims of Hyderabad prior to his departure, Hyderabad, August 14, 1941.

Prior to his departure to Bombay, Mr. Jinnah gave the following message to the Muslims of Hyderabad: "Stand united and organise by adopting a constructive programme for the uplift of Mussalmans educationally, socially the economically." (A.P.)

The Civil & Military Gazette, August 15, 1941.

472

Statement replying to A.K. Fazlul Haq's accusations, Bombay, August 17/18, 1941.

"In his statement published in the Press on August 16, Mr. Fazl-ul-Haq accuses me of having acted in a manner wholly unconstitutional and having exercised arbitrary powers 'ex parte' without hearing any statement from him. This is absolutely incorrect. If he would only study the constitution of the organisation to which he belongs, the procedure adopted is normal, as according to the rules the Working Committee is empowered to take disciplinary action subject to the appeal to the Council of the All-India Muslim League, and the Secretary and myself, as the chief office-bearers, considered it our duty to place before the Working Committee the action and the conduct of certain members of the League for having associated themselves with the scheme of the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the constitution of the so-called National Defence Council, for that, in our judgment, amounted to a violation of the decisions of the League and opposed to its general policy.

Accordingly a meeting of the Working Committee has been called on August 24 by the Secretary with my consent as laid down in the constitution of the All-India Muslim League and the tribunal that will decide the question is the Working Committee and against their decision an appeal lies to the full Council of the All-India Muslim League. There is no ex parte decision taken and it is open to Mr. Fazl-ul-Haq, to send his statement and explanation in writing or be present in person and place all that he has to say in his support and defence.

Finally, I may say that although I had the fullest powers given to me by the express resolution of the full sessions of the All-India Muslim League held at Madras to take the disciplinary action myself, but as in that case they would have been deprived of their right of appeal if the decision had gone against them, I came to the conclusion that in all fairness to them a normal procedure should be adopted and the matter should be dealt with in the first instance according to our constitution by the Working Committee and if the party is aggrieved by their decision, they would have the right of appeal to the Council of the All-India Muslim League. (A.P.)

QAP-File 785/p.189-190 &
The Civil & Military Gazette, August 19, 1941.

473

Rejoinder to Mr. Amery's Statement, Bombay, August 20, 1941.

"Mr. Amery's latest statement published in the morning's papers that the Muslim League Premiers were invited to join in the so-called National Defence Council in their capacity as Prime Ministers is an afterthought and misleading. I do not wish to deal with it at present, as the whole matter is now going

to be considered by the Working Committee of the League which is meeting on August 24." (A.P.)

The Civil & Military Gazette, August 21, 1941.

474

Statement after his talks with the deputation from the Punjab, Bombay, August 23, 1941.

The deputation on behalf of the Muslim members of the Punjab Assembly, led by Sir Mahomed Shah Nawaz Khan of Mamdot, saw Mr. M. A. Jinnah at his residence. The deputationists had a long discussion with Mr. Jinnah on the proposed disciplinary action against those members of the League who have joined the Viceroy's expanded Executive Council and the National Defence Council. The deputation consisted of Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Sir Syed Mehr Shah and Mir Muqbool Mahmood, Parliamentary Secretary to the Premier.

It is understood that the deputationists in their representation to Mr. Jinnah emphasised that the three Muslim Premiers had been included in the National Defence Council by virtue of their official position and not as members of the Muslim League.

On the conclusion of his talks with the deputation. Mr. Jinnah issued the following statement:

"I was glad to receive a deputation consisting of the Nawab of Mamdot, Raja Gazanfar Ali Khan, Sir Syed Mehr Shah and Mir Maqbool Mahmood. I heard their views and suggestions and assured the deputationists that their views will receive my careful consideration and these will be placed before the Working Committee, which is the final tribunal to decide the

matter of disciplinary action which is proposed." (A.P.)

The Civil & Military Gazette, August 24, 1941.

475

Speech at a Press Conference, Bombay, August 27,1941.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, explained at a Press conference the implications of some of the resolutions adopted by the Working Committee of the League.

Asked what would be the position if the Premiers who have now resigned from the National Defence Council are re-nominated in their official capacity, Mr. Jinnah said: "The question for the Working Committee of the League in its essence and the gravamen of the complaints against these members of the Muslim League who accepted nomination on the so-called National Defence Council and associated in the scheme of reconstruction of the Viceroy's Executive Council is based on the fundamental principle that by associating themselves with the scheme they have violated the expressed decision of the Muslim League, which had rejected in September, 1940, the proposal of the viceroy on similar lines made to the Muslim League.

Secretly Done

"The other point was that they did it secretly and without reference to the leader of the organization or its executive. On those two grounds, the Working Committee of the League, which considered the question, was of unanimous opinion that action should be taken against the members who associated with the scheme and it was decided they should resign from the National Defence Council and the Executive Council."

Further explaining his attitude in regard to the decision taken by the Government about the expansion and reconstruction of the Executive Council and the setting up of the National Defence Council. Mr. Jinnah said: "It is universally condemned in the country and it should be obvious that instead of its helping the war efforts, which is the set purpose, it has created far-reaching bitterness and opposition. The equally irresponsible observations and "obiter dicta" of Mr. Amery with regard to the Muslim proposal for partition when we are not yet engaged in the consideration of the future constitution of India, have created grave apprehensions in the minds of Muslims and I cannot understand how a responsible Minister is allowed to prejudge any proposals to the future problem of India's constitution contrary to the declaration of August 8, 1940, and Mr. Amery's own pronouncements of August 14, 1940 and April 27, 1941, with regard to the pledge given to the people of India." (A.P.)

The Civil & Military Gazette, August 28, 1941.

476

Statement on Defence Council issue - Correspondence with Governor of Bombay, August 27, 1941.

"The explanation that has been given, presumably on behalf of Lord Linlithgow, in the communique dated August 1941, from Simla, regarding the recent decision of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, and the statement which has been issued by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, consequent on his resignation from the National Defence Council, is a lengthy and wordy explanation of points, other than the real and vital one, which forms the basis of the resignation of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, viz., that according to the text of the

message of his Excellency the Viceroy Sir Sikander Hyat Khan was appointed as a representative of the great Muslim community. This message I received through the Governor of Bombay on the morning of July 21 and replied to it on the same day. It is surprising that no reference whatever has been made to it in the whole of the communique.

The statement of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan runs as follows:-

"I was surprised, however, to find that in the letter dated July 28 last, from the Governor of Bombay to Mr Jinnah, communicating to him a message from His Excellency the Viceroy, an entirely different complexion had been put on the basis of appointment of the Muslim Premiers on this Council, and *inter alia* it was stated that we were being appointed to the Defence Council as representatives of the great Muslim community... I could not, in fairness to my province or the Muslim League, continue, to serve on this Council."

Double-crossing Sikander

According to Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the Viceroy was double-crossing him. That point is not met in the whole of the communique. Had he asked Sir Sikander Hyat Khan to join the Council in his personal capacity, the probability is so obvious that he would have refused, or at any rate, asked for time to consult the leader and the executive of the Muslim League Organisation.

This, evidently, did not suit the Viceroy to put it to him in that way, and he was sworn to strict secrecy.

It is somewhat difficult to understand why the Working Committee has been dragged in the communique. The position of the Working Committee has been made quite clear by its resolution that the gentlemen concerned had clearly associated themselves with the scheme had thereby gone against the

express decision and mandate of the League, and without any reference to the leader or the executive of the organisation. The decision of the Working Committee, therefore, was that they should resign from the National Defence Council. It is quite immaterial whether they accepted the invitation in their official capacity or otherwise.

Government Creating Confusion

The various stages of the development of this plea that these gentlemen were appointed in their official capacity as Premiers, ending with the statement of the Secretary of State for India, which he was at pains to make on August 19, 1941, were merely intended to create confusion among the Muslim public and in the deliberations of the Working Committee, which was called upon to decide as to what action should be taken in the matter.

Talks With Viceroy

Lastly there is a reference of His Excellency the Viceroy in the communique, to the conversation that he had with me on August 16, 1941. It is quite correct that he informed me that these gentlemen were invited in their official capacity; but in fairness to me it also ought to have been stated as to what was my reply. Here I give the substance of it. I said: "It was quite immaterial to the real issue; nevertheless, it is the first time I hear, on your authority, that they were invited in their official capacity; and even after any reply to your massage, which you must have on the 21st or the 22nd, you did not suggest that they were appointed in their official capacity till to-day." I pointed out to him that this was quite contrary to the message that he was good enough to send to me through the Governor of Bombay. The text of the message did not leave the slightest doubt that they were appointed essentially as representatives of the great Muslim community, because they were Muslims of the highest prominence and capacity. I asked him to send for the copy of his

message that he had sent to me and verify what I was saying, to which he replied that he would look it up.

Governor's Letter

I think in fairness to all parties concerned that I should release to the press the full text of his message and my reply to it.

From Government House, Ganeshkhind, dated July 20, 1941

(Confidential).

His Excellency the viceroy has asked me to let you know his intentions on the matters which follows. I had hoped that I would be able to see you myself in order that I might convey this message to you personally as was his desire, but unfortunately, now that I am in a position to give you message, I am not entirely fit, and I am therefore writing to convey it to you by this letter, which I am sending down to Bombay by messenger.

The Viceroy has continued to have very much in mind the whole situation in regard to the war effort and the association of non-official opinion with the prosecution of the war. The obstacles, however, to any settlement on the basis of the complete offer of August last, which emerged so clearly during the discussions last autumn, still exist, to his very great regret, as the last few months, and the reactions to the Secretary of State's statement in the House of Commons on April 22, have made clear. In these circumstances, it is equally clear that he cannot look for that degree of support from the major parties, for the proposals embodied in the August offer, which he desires. Nevertheless, the burden of the conduct of the war on the Central Government has greatly increased, and for administrative reasons it is essential to proceed with some increase in the membership of the Viceroy's Council within the terms of the August Offer. The Viceroy, accordingly, is anxious that you should know that he is now, with the approval of His

Majesty's Government, creating five new portfolios. These new portfolios, and the names of the gentlemen by whom they have been accepted, are as follows:-

Supply: Sir Homi Mody. Information: Sir Akbar Hydari. Civil Defence: Mr. Raghavendra Rao. Indians Overseas: Mr. Aney. Labour: Sir Firoz Khan Noon.

The Viceroy would also like you to know that he proposes to fill the vacancies arising in the portfolio of Law when Sir Zafarullah Khan goes to the Federal Court, and in the portfolio of Education when Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai takes up a mission overseas, by the appointment of Sir Sultan Ahmed and Mr. Sarker.

In addition, the Viceroy does not feel that, because of the difficulty in securing the support of the major political parties, it is profitable to delay further the more active association of non-official Indian opinion with the prosecution of the war. He is accordingly establishing, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, a National Defence Council. The Council will consist of some thirty members, nine of whom will be drawn from the Indian States. The Viceroy regards it as essential that the great Muslim community should be represented on that Council by persons of the highest prominence and capacity. He has, accordingly, invited the Premiers of Assam, Bengal, the Punjab and Sind to serve as members on it, and he has extended invitations also to certain other prominent Muslims, such as Sir Mahomed Usman. He has considered whether he should invite you to let him have any suggestions as to the possible personnel for this Council, but being aware, as he is, of your general attitude, he has concluded that it would be preferable not to embarrass you by inviting you to make suggestions.

I hope that you have now fully recovered from your recent illness.

Mr. Jinnah's Reply: From Malabar Hill dated Bombay July 21, 1941

I am in receipt of your letter of July 20, 1941, which embodies the message of His Excellency the Viceroy. I deeply regret that decision taken by him with the approval of His Majesty's Government. I appreciate when he says that he does not wish to embarrass me by inviting me to make suggestions knowing as he does, not only my general attitude but that of the All-India Muslim League. Further, I cannot approve of his having invited the Muslim Premiers or any other Muslim Leaguer under the scheme of the expansion of the Viceroy's Council as well as what is now called the National Defence Council, because it is obvious that it would embarrass the Muslim League organisation, and I do hope and trust that His Excellency will avoid such a contingency. Besides, it is hardly fair or proper that they should be approached by His Excellency over the head of the President and the executive of the All-India Muslim League, knowing full well the position and the attitude that the All-India Muslim League has adopted.

It is stated in his message that the Viceroy regards it as essential that the 'great Muslim community should be represented by persons of the highest prominence and capacity.' Would it be creditable for any individual prominent or capable Muslim, belonging to an organisation to accept the invitation contrary to the position and the attitude taken up by that organisation, and would it do only credit to the Government if they succeed in alluring him and create a breach in the organisation, in the hope that he may throw up his allegiance to the party to which he belongs in order to accept the invitation of His Excellency? I maintain that the great Muslim community is represented authoritatively only by the All-India Muslim League organization. Persistence in the course will not improve matters, but on the contrary it will lead to bitterness on the part of the Muslim League which up to the present moment, fortunately,

does not exist, however emphatically we have disapproved of the policy which has been pursued by His Majesty's Government and the Viceroy.

Before I conclude, I am extremely sorry to hear that you are not well, and I hope that you will soon recover from your illness.

Thanking you for your kind inquiries. I am not much better.

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Letter from Sir Roger Lumley to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, from Government House, dated Ganeshkhind, July 21, 1941.

Thank you for your letter of July 21, the contents of which I have passed on the Viceroy.

I am glad to hear you have recovered. Thanks for your kind inquiry. I am much better.

The Civil & Military Gazette, August 28, 1941.

477

Statement regarding Mr. A.K. Fazl-ul-Huq's letter to the Secretay of the Muslim League, Bombay, September 11, 1941.

"The resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League was communicated to Mr. Fazl-ul-Huq, asking him to resign from the National Defence Council within ten days, by the letter of the Secretary posted to his address on August 28, 1941. Ten clear days from the receipt of the letter expired on September 10.

"I have now learnt that Mr. Fazl-ul-Huq has sent in his resignation from the National Defence Council and thus he has

complied with the resolution of the Working Committee and accordingly no further action is necessary in his case. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

"My attention has been drawn to his letter addressed to the Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, which is published in the Press to-day. It is full of misstatements and misrepresentations and wholly unjustifiable. His attack on all and sundry, including myself, is unwarranted and unworthy of a man occupying the position that he does.

"No doubt, the letter will be considered at the proper time and place and will be dealt with in an appropriate manner and I do not wish at present to be side-tracked from the real issue with which we are so vitally concerned and have to deal with. Mr. Fazl-ul-Huq will appreciate later if he does not do so now that there was no alternative for the Muslim League organisation but to adopt the course that it did in order to vindicate and maintain the honour and prestige of the Muslim League and Muslim India. I am sure that when in his calmer moments he reads it again, this wordy and self-contradictory letter of his, he will regret that he should have written this kind of letter to the Secretary of the All-India Muslim League. (A.P.)

The Civil & Military Gazette, September 12, 1941.

478

Statement regarding disciplinary action taken against Sir Sultan Ahmad and Begum Shahnawaz, Bombay, September 12, 1941

"With regard to Sir Sutlan Ahmad, I find that he has not complied with with the resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, which was posted to his address by

the Secretary on August 28. The Working Committee, after having considered his written explanation, did not wish to question his "bona fides" as he contended that he had no intention of flouting the mandate of the Muslim League and that he had committed no violation of any decision of the League or its policy in accepting the offer of Law Member in the Governor-General's Executive Council, as the portfolio of law has been in existence for over a century and therefore the law membership was not and could not be regarded as part of the scheme of expansion or reconstruction of the Executive Council.

"But this puerile explanation was rejected by the Working Committee, and by its resolution of August 26, 1941, his attention was drawn to the fact that the gravamen of the charge against him was that, while he was a member of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, he associated himself with the scheme of expansion and reconstruction of the Viceroy's Executive Council, when a scheme fundamentally based on similar lines was proposed by the Viceroy to the League but had been rejected by the Council of the All-India Muslim League by its resolution as far back as September 29, 1940; that the present scheme of the expansion and reconstruction of the Executive Council and the constitution of the National Defence Council was of a piece; and that the decision was taken by the British Government in spite of the Muslim League decision and now this step or scheme was sought to be forced upon us in complete disregard of our disapproval of it and emphatic opposition to it and contrary to our specific demands embodied in that resolution, dated September 29, 1940.

Provisional Scheme

"This scheme is admittedly a provisional one and is claimed to be a war measure.Sir Sultan Ahmad knows that his appointment and the terms of his appointment are not an

isolated act of filling a vacancy in its ordinary normal course of the portfolio of law, which as he says, has existed for more than a century. Mr. Amery in his statement dated July 22, 1941 in reply to the question put by Mr.Sorenson expressly stated, in connection with the Victory's Executive Council, that in spite of the Muslim League,the Viceroy had succeeded in securing the co-operation of many representative men, some of whom were members of the Muslim League. The communique itself mentioned Sir Sultan Ahmad among the new members of the reconstructed Executive Council and that he had been appointed on fresh terms and conditions as a part of the scheme, which admittedly is a provisional one.

"In a speech on August 1, 1941, Mr. Amery again referred to the matter in the same way and in his reply to the debate he reached the climax when be said: "I am glad to think that regardless of party leaders and in defiance of party discipline, patriotic Indians have come forward to work for Indian's defence " Neither Sir Sultan Ahmad, nor the portfolio of law was made an exception to this certificate bestowed by the Secretary of State for India upon those who have associated themselves with it.

A Quibble

"However,as Sir Sultan Ahmad wrongly persist in his view, which is a quibble, and as he has finally decided to associate himself with the scheme,which was expressly rejected by the Muslim League and again condemned by its recent resolution and as the ten days' time given to him to reconsider his position has expired, I have come to the conclusion that Sir Sultan Ahmad is guilty of having violated the express mandate of the League and its policy and as he has failed to comply with the requisition of the Working Committee to resign within ten days, I have to take such action as I consider proper,by virtue of the authority given to me by the Working Committee.

"I have decided that his name should be removed from the membership of the Council of the All-India Muslim League and also from the Muslim League organisation, that is, central, provincial, district and primary leagues. Further, he is disqualified to be a member of the Muslim League organisation and will not be eligible for its membership for five years.

Untenable Plea

"With regard to Begum Shah Nawaz, she is trying to take shelter under the untenable plea that she was invited in her capacity as a representative of the women, whereas to quote the exact words given by her,she was invited as "a representative of women and as a representative also of the Punjab." Her case, therefore, is not as water-tight as it has been suggested by her,because it is noteworthy that she was not invited merely as a representative of women but also of the Punjab.

"The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League considered this last childish plea of hers,among all other aspects of her case,and came to the conclusion that, as a member of the Muslim League, she was bound in honour by her pledge of membership not to violate any decision of the League and its policy as long as she continued to be a member of the Muslim League organisation. By associating herself with the scheme which was rejected and recently condemned by the Working Committee, she is clearly guilty of disloyalty to the organisation to which she belongs. She cannot cut herself up into different capacities as it has now become a fashion to try and take shelter under this capacity or that capacity. As a Leaguer she owes allegiance to the Muslim League organisation and she has flouted the mandate of the League.

"Now that she has failed to comply with the resolution of the Working Committee asking her to resign her seat in the National Defence Council within ten days and has finally declined to do so, there is no alternative for me but to hold her

guilty of the violation of the express decision of the League and its policy. I have therefore, decided as the power is given to me by the Working Committee to take such action as I think proper, that her name should be removed from the membership of the Council of the All India Muslim League and also from the Muslim League organisation that is central, provisional, district and primary Leagues. Further she is disqualified to be a member of the Muslim League organisation and will not be eligible for its membership for five years" (A.P.)

The Civil & Military Gazette, September 13, 1941

479

Message to the Bengal Muslim Students Conference, Bombay, September 15, 1941

The Quaid-e-Azam's message wishing the Conference every success was read out (in the conference).

"Let our motto," said Mr. Jinnah in his messge, "be faith, unity, and discipline. Pakistan is our sacred goal and stands for equality of manhood, justice, freedom and peace. To achieve this ideal we should neither rest nor shirk sacrifice. We should not be deterred by opposition or obstacles. The caravan must march on."

The Star of India, September 20, 1941.

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Id Message to Muslim India, Bombay, October, 19, 1941.

"I wish Muslims a happy and prosperous Id. The month of Ramzan is the month of fasting, prayer and communion with God. It is in this month that the Holy Quran was revealed. It is primarily a spiritual discipline enjoined upon the Mussalmans, but, in the performance of this duty, its value in regard to the moral discipline, and its social and physical value follow in no small degree.

It teaches you what hunger means.

"It teaches you the lesson that you should be prepared for privation and to undergo a hard trial in the performance of duty. That lesson is repeated from day-to-day for a whole month, and its exercise develops in no small degree the moral, physical and ethical side of the life. It enables you to feel that you are not a salve of food or appetite, but that you should be its master.

"Its physical value also cannot be underrated: for the rest given to the digestive organs of the body for the whole month only gives them additional health and strength, like the fallow ground by which rest becomes more productive. It is a scientific fact that all organs of the body are so made that the rest only increases their capacity for work, and the better the capacity of the digestive organs the more healthy is the physical growth of man.

Duty To Nation

"Nor can its social value be underrated. Islam lays great emphasis on the social side of things. Every day the rich and the poor, the great and the small, living in a locality, are brought five times in a day in the mosque in terms of perfect equality of mankind and thereby the foundation of a healthy social

relationship is laid and established through prayer. Then at the end of Ramazan comes the new moon, the crescent, as a signal for a mass gathering on the Id day, again in perfect equality of brotherhood, which affects the entire Muslim world.

You have gone through the regime and the discipline of Ramazan for one whole month, and now comes the Id-ul-Fitr, which means recurring happiness. It is a day of happiness which follows the performance of duty in order to inculcate in you and to show you that true happiness lies in the successful performance of duty.

At this moment of your joy, vast congregation will join you all over the world; and while you all should thank the Almighty that He has enabled you to perform your duty and given you strength to make a sacrifice that was required from us by Him let us prepare ourselves for another duty no less important and make firm resolve on this great day that we will do our duty by our nation, that is struggling for its freedom in this country. Let us pray to God that He may give us strength to prove ourselves worthy of this resolve and fulfil it.

But while we are engaged in our own struggle for freedom, let us not forget our brethren who, in other parts of the world, are doing likewise. Let us pray for their success. Let us also pray for the Muslim States who are independent and soverign that God may help them to preserve and maintain their independence and soverignty.

I feel confident that you all will at this moment reaffirm your resolve to do everything in your power and to make every contribution in the shape of time and money and make every sacrifice that is possible to consolidate, harness, and make Muslim India really a great nation, specially by building up all departments of national and individual life, such as educational, economic and social uplift, and thus help further its onward progress towards the realisation of our political goal, namely

Pakistan.

Our watchword should be faith, unity and discipline.

QAP-File-1022/pp.19-24 & 31
& The Dawn, October 26, 1941

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Address from the mimber of Jamia Masjid to the Id Congregation, Delhi, October 23, 1941.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah said that today was not the day for any speech-making. He warmly wished a happy Id to the Indian Muslims and particularly to those present. (A.P.I.)

AFM/KU/QA/Clip 10/p.44

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Speech at a public meeting, New Delhi, October 23, 1941.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah at a largely attended public meeting held here emphasized the greatness and the spiritual character of the month of Ramzan.

"To-day," said Mr. Jinnah. "I want to reaffirm with all the emphasis at my command that we stand for Pakistan, and for faith, unity and discipline.

"I am confident that we will acquire a place in this land where we may live honourably according to Islamic tradition and culture and it is in your hands.

"You have seen how recently the Muslim League had to face a grave internal crisis and how we succeeded in maintaining and vindicating our honour and prestige and held aloft the flag of the Muslim League. This should be an eye-opener to our

opponents and enemies who wanted to create disruption in our ranks.

"You and I have heard many people say that this was a triumph for Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League but this was not a triumph for Mr. Jinnah or the Muslim League. It was a triumph for Muslim public opinion from one end of the country to the other. You have demonstrated that no man, however big he may be can defy the decision of the Muslim League; that he has to bow before public opinion.

"Unite, organize and maintain discipline and no power on earth can stop you from achieving the goal which you have placed before yourselves," concluded Mr. Jinnah amidst cheers. (A.P.I.)

The Star of India, October 24, 1941.

483

Appeal for the Dawn, New Delhi, October 23, 1941

"During the last few years the All-India Muslim League and the great Muslim nation have been fully organised such as they have never before been in the history of British India. Constant appeals have been made to me for some time past that this great organisation should have a property controlled and supervised English Daily which would authoritatively expound the views and express the opinion and sentiments of Muslim India the latter being handicapped for want of such a channel, so essential in these days. In response to these appeals from all quarters of the country, I am glad that at last an English Weekly, *The Dawn* is founded and established in Delhi, the capital city of India, which is at present the nerve centre of all political activities.

"The Dawn will mirror faithfully the views of Muslim India and the All-India Muslim League in all its activities — economic, educational and social and more particularly political — throughout the country, fearlessly and independently and while its policy will be no doubt, mainly to advocate and champion the cause of the Mussalmans and the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League, it will not neglect the cause and welfare of the peoples of this sub-continent generally.

"I may make it clear that '*The Dawn*' has nothing to do with the scheme of the Bombay Presidency Press and Propaganda Fund, which was only confined to the Western zone nor will it, in any way, be financed from the funds of the All-India Muslim League. It is entirely an independent venture as an effort made by a few individuals in the shape of a small beginning.

"I, therefore, fervently appeal specially to every Mussalman to support this venture in every way he can, and become its subscriber and reader. It will entirely depend upon the public now to prove the earnestness and desire which they have exhibited so long for an organ of this character by supporting it, and upon their support and sympathy will depend the consideration of converting this small paper into a first class English Daily.

"I sincerely trust that the Mussalmans will realise the importance of this effort. It is the small beginnings that lead to great things and with all the support that I expect from the Mussalmans. I cannot see any reason why we should not be able to convert '*The Dawn*' into a first class English Daily very soon."

The Dawn, October 26, 1941.

484

Speech at the Flag Hoisting Ceremony at Urdu Park, Delhi, October 23, 1941.

At a largely attended public meeting held in Urdu Park, Mr. Jinnah unfurled the Muslim League flag. He emphasised the greatness and the spiritual character of the month of Ramzan and declared: "To-day unfurling the Muslim League flag, I want to re-affirm with all the emphasis at my command that we stand for Pakistan and for faith, unity and discipline.

"I am confident that we will acquire a place in this land where we may live honourably, according to Islamic tradition and culture, and it is in your hands.

"You have seen how recently the Muslim League had to face a grave internal crisis and how we succeeded in maintaining and vindicating our honour and prestige and held aloft the flag of the Muslim League. This should be an eye-opener for our opponents and enemies who wanted to create disruption in our ranks.

"You and I have heard many people say that this was a triumph for Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League. This was not a triumph for Mr. Jinnah or the Muslim League but a triumph for Muslim public opinion from one end of the country to the other. You have demonstrated that no man however big he may be, can defy the decision of the Muslim League; that he has to bow before public opinion.

"To-day I appeal to you all to keep this flag flying. Unite, organize, and maintain discipline, and no power on earth can stop you from achieving the goal which you have placed before yourselves."

The Dawn, October 26, 1941.

485

Speech in the Central Legislative Assembly, on the 'Professions Tax Limitation Bill, New Delhi', October 28,1941

(Proof of the growing deterioration in the country's politics was witnessed on the first day of the Central assembly session. In contrast to the congestion on the Treasury Benches as a result of the expansion was the conspicuous absence of non-official members of the House.

The Muslim League party walked out of the Central Assembly on Tuesday morning after Mr. M.A. Jinnah, the party's leader had made a statement declaring that they were doing so in order to register their protest against the way in which the Muslim offer of co-operation in the war effort had been completely ignored by the Government).*

Sir F. E. James (Madras: European): I beg to move:

"That the Bill to limit to a maximum of Rs. 50 per annum the amount payable in respect of any person by way of tax on professions, trades, callings or employments, be referred to a Select Committee consisting of the Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman, Sir George Spence, Mr. J. F. Sheehy, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney. Mr. C.C. Miller, Mr. Amarendra Nath Chattopadhyaya and the Mover, with instructions to report by the 4th day of November 1941, and that the number of Members whose present shall be necessary to constitute a meetings of the Committee shall be five.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): Mr. President, as we have decided not to take part in the discussion, not only of this motion, which is immediately before the House, but we have decided to withdraw from this

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* The Dawn, November 2, 1941

House during the present Autumn Session as a mark of protest because we strongly resent and disapprove of the decision of the Government in regard to the manner in which the Executive Council has been expanded and the constitution of the National Defence Council, and the way in which this has been carried out. I think, Sir, Honourable Members agree with me that we owe a duty to the House and to those whom we represent that we should make our statement and give shortly our reasons why we have adopted this course of registering of our protest. I assure you, Sir, and I assure the House that I shall avoid, as far as it is possible to do so, entering into any controversial matters on this question, and I shall briefly state our position. It is a sad and painful story. In the first instance, as far back as November 1939, after the war had broken out, a proposal came from the Viceroy. That proposal was that the Government were prepared to meet the major parties, at any rate as far as possible, by the expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council.

Sir F. E. James: Mr. President, might I rise to a point of order. I do not want to interrupt Mr. Jinnah but inasmuch as it appears that a statement dealing with matters which have nothing to do with the present Professions Tax Bill is being allowed to be made, may I ask that you will give due consideration to the time which is now being allowed to that purpose when the question of the further debate on this Bill arises?

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): As the Chair understands Mr. Jinnah, he wishes to state his reasons as shortly as possible, if the Chair followed him correctly, for the decision which he and his Party have arrived at for not participating in the debate on this particular motion, as well as other matters, that will come up before the Assembly during the present Session. The Honourable Member, Mr. Jinnah, is entitled, like any other Member, to speak on this motion. He does not want to deal with the merits of the motion

before the House. What he says is this: "I and my Party do not want to participate in this debate nor participate in any other debate during this Session." He feels that he has to explain his conduct to the House for abstaining from taking part in the proceedings, but the Chair thinks Mr. Jinnah will realise, that, as the motion reads, his statement will not be relevant at all to the Bill but only to the attitude that he and his Party are taking up in this matter. He will, therefore, confine himself to as brief a statement of the reasons as possible and make the reasons non-controversial.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: I am extremely obliged to you for clarifying the position. I assure you that that is exactly what I said at the outset, that we owe a duty to the House. If you do not want to hear me, I do not want to worry you about it. If you do not want to hear us, I am quite willing just to announce our decision and retire. If the Honourable Members want to hear me, I am prepared to explain my reasons.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): If the Honourable Member so desires, the Chair is prepared to take the sense of House.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: This is not the first occasion. Mr. James is an old Member of this House and he ought to know that this is not the first occasion that his procedure has been adopted in my favour. I think his memory is very short. It has been done on several occasions before and it did not strike Mr. James to raise a point of other then. However, I am quite content with what you said and I propose to follow exactly the same course and, therefore, I do wish the House to understand our attitude and why we have adopted this attitude I was telling the House that so far as the Muslim League is concerned we have made it quite clear that apart from the major issues, from the very beginning we were ready and willing to render every possible assistance in the prosecution of the war, but it is not

only I who suggested it. It came from the Government and the Government themselves made the proposal and I was very glad that they made that proposal. The proposal was this. To put it in the language of the Resolution which we passed when rejecting the proposal, this is what we said:

> 'Nevertheless, without prejudice to the adjustment of the larger issues later on, we were even willing as far back as November last (that is 1939) to consider the proposal of the Viceroy to bring about an honourable and workable adjustment in the provincial field which would have been followed up with our representatives, being appointed in the Executive Council of the Central Government to the extent permissible within the framework of the present Constitution and the existing law.'

"But the other parties and organisations were not willing to accept this, and rejected the proposal out of hand and the matter went on. Then, came the announcement of the 8th of August, 1940*. In spirit and almost in letter that announcement was in principle almost what we urged in the Resolution of the All-India Muslim League Committee in June 1940, but it came on the 8th of August 1940. We were glad and we welcomed it to this extent that the principle was accepted, namely, to give a genuine and real share in the authority of the Government. But when that principle came to be translated, as the Honourable Members know and I do not want to repeat anything, the only thing that was offered by the Government was, without telling us what the total number was going to be, without telling us who the other Parties were, without telling us what the additional number would be, without telling us as to what would be the portfolios, and without telling us anything more about any other matters, that we were informed only that the number

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* For details see Appendix

of our representatives will be two. That did not show, to begin with, a real and genuine spirit or desire on the part of the Government to start with to treat us as co-sharers not only in the authority of the Government but co-sharers in the danger which we were willing to face to the utmost. Therefore, it was not possible for us to accept that position and we rejected it. I venture to say that no decent organisation, no decent self-respecting party could possibly have accepted that offer. That was finished in September 1940. After that the Government remained asleep and the Government and the people all the time were misrepresenting us that we were non-co-operating and were putting difficulties in the way. All sorts of allegations were made against us in the press. Not only that, but sometimes arguments of threats were also used.

"Now, I have always admitted, and there is not the slightest doubt about, it and we do realise, that there is a grave danger and menace to India. We have repeatedly said in our Resolutions, as far back as June 1940, that the efforts that you were making and the schemes that were suggested by the Government of India and the Commander-in-Chief were not sufficient. You must increase and intensify your war efforts. Our Resolutions are on the record but, as I said, the Government went to sleep and nothing was heard. All that we were told was that we were in danger and we were told what would happen to us. We were told what would happen to us if Hitler came here. Now, I quite agree that if England is broken or beaten there will be a terrible chaos in this country. But while you say this and threaten us with the consequences, can't you also say what will happen to you? Why can't you say what will happen to us both and all of us? The spirit in which the criticism is offered is this: We are all right but what will happen to you; you won't be here even to talk about your independence and liberty and things of that sort much less to enjoy it. I want you to enter into this spirit. What will happen to you and me both? Do you really want

our whole-hearted and full assistance. Then came this decision which was announced on the 22nd of July. As we say, the manner, in which it was undertaken and finally carried out, ignoring everybody, and I am particularly speaking on behalf of the Muslim League, is most objectionable. Why have you ignored us? We have put no difficulties in your way. We have said from the very beginning that major issues will be considered later on within the framework of the existing Constitution. If you honestly and really want our co-operation, you must associate us with you with a real and genuine share in the authority of the Government not only at the Centre but in the Provinces as well. Then and then alone we can give you assistance, not because we are going to favour you, but because you happen to be the major authority. Then and then alone we can give Government all the assistance in men, money and supply. But ignoring everything, you have come to this decision and this decision is announced and forced upon us contrary to our advice and notwithstanding our opposition. We have reasoned, we have argued and we had long negotiations and we have come to the conclusion in the hope that the protest that we are registering today will open the eye of the blind and the ear of the deaf, and that you will, with God's help have the wisdom and the statesmanship to revise this scheme of yours which I assure you, is not going to help you by a little in the intensification of your war effort. On the contrary you, must have realised that it is going to do harm to you, and I am interested as much as anybody else to ward off that harm and I advise you to think it over.

"This is the reason why we have adopted this course. Finally I say to the Government, I say to Honourable Members, I say to the Press and the public outside, please do not misrepresent us. It is the Government and the Government alone that is responsible, and one cannot come to any other conclusion than that they do not want our assistance, they do

not want our co-operation. When they talk of co-operation, they mean on such terms as no self-respecting organisation can come in. Well, Sir, the spirit behind this measure and this policy is this. In the words of Sir Claude Jacob when he sent a message to the troops: the Empire will not forget your loyal and faithful services. Well you want us to be completely bereft of self-respect, you want us to give you assistance and the Empire will not forget our loyal and faithful services. We have reached the stage today for which you alone are responsible. You do not really honestly want our assistance.

"Sir, I have done and I hope you will understand the spirit of this protest in right and proper perspective."

(At this stage the Members of the Muslim League Party withdrew from the Chamber).

The Legislative Assembly Debates, 1941, Vol. IV, pp. 146-50, The Dawn, November 2, 1941 & The Civil & Minitary Gazette, October 29, 1941.

486

Message to the Editor, "The Spirit of Youth" (Lucknow), New Delhi, November 1, 1941

"I am very glad to learn that you have started a monthly journal, "*The Spirit Of Youth*" from Lucknow, that will ventilate the feelings and sentiments of our young men.

I hope that "*The Spirit Of Youth*" will not only advocate the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League faithfully and fearlessly but will also provide a scope for those of our young men who wish to take up journalism as their career - a want which is vigorously felt among the Mussalmans of India.

I wish you all success."

QAP-F-1009

487

Speech at Muslim University Union, Aligarh, November 2, 1941.

Mr. Jinnah warmly thanked the University students and the Muslim public of Aligarh for the great honour, affection and love they had shown him. It was a great encouragement because it showed that they were not only honouring him personally but endorsing the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League. He hoped this would open the eyes of the world as to what was the strength behind the League.

Continuing, Mr. Jinnah said, we are doing our utmost to give expression to the true Muslim feelings, so that the whole world may know as to what we stand for. I am visiting Aligarh for the second time during the course of the year.

I shall tell you as shortly as possible the story of the period between my last visit and the present. I am not going to repeat hackneyed phrases like 'the youth of to-day will be the leaders tomorrow.' But as practical man I tell you that great responsibility rests on you. The youth will have to bear the brunt of the struggle in the very near future.

The first and most important issue is as to what is our position with regard to constitutional changes. You know that negotiations and interviews between me and the Viceroy went on for a long time. The Working Committee and the Council and the full session of the Muslim League passed many resolutions in this behalf. Briefly, our position has been that, as soon as circumstances permit or immediately after the war, the whole constitutional problem be examined *de novo*. The declaration of

August 8, 1940, threw open the whole constitutional field for re-examination. The declaration, as amplified by the Secretary of State for India, makes it clear that the British Government are not going to impose any constitution on India, and no constitution is to be adopted except with the agreement of the major parties of this country. It means our point is met to the extent that no constitution will be foisted on us unless it meets with our approval.

The other point concerns our attitude towards war. There is no doubt that we too are in real danger. The Muslim League like practical men considered that it is in the interest of India itself that war efforts should be intensified and we should have a share and a say in the defence of the country. According to the declaration of August, 1940, representatives of major political parties had to be associated with this scheme with power and authority in the Government. But when the principle came to be implemented its real purpose was lost. In the course of the negotiations the Viceroy said, "I can't tell you what will be the total number of my cabinet. I can't tell you how many additional members there will be. I can't tell you what portfolios will be assigned to the members. I can't tell you as to who are the other parties coming into the cabinet. In fact I can't tell you anything. I give you two seats and that is all." Anyone with a grain of commonsense can see that they set little value on our offer of co-operation and that no self-respecting body could accept their offer. Supposing the Congress were coming in, what would be the position of the Muslim League and our two representatives? To this the reply again was, 'I can't tell you.' Are we merely to be exploited? Are we merely to keep these two seats warm? Remember, the Congress has not yet launched their satyagraha. No one could say what attitude they would take. If Government agreed to give certain terms to the Congress, what would happen? In these circumstances it was not possible to accept the offer. If Congress did not come in, the

burden of responsibility for external defence and internal order would fall mainly on Muslims. Anyone except a blind man can see that if Congress keeps out it means the solid body of Hindus keeps out and whole burden falls on the 90 millions of Mussalmans. It was going to be a war contract and not merely a question of jobs. If Congress launched direct action, then the only other party left would be the Muslim League. Am I, therefore, wrong in saying that in that event I must have a majority in the reconstructed cabinet? I now say it publicly that I wanted the Hindu Congress also to come in, and join hands with us in safeguarding our homes and hearts. If I am entering into a contract to share danger and give my blood and money and Congress also comes in, then the number of Hindu and Muslim members should be equal. It was not merely a question of number, but a question of real share in authority and responsibility at the Centre and in the provinces within the framework of the present constitution for the successful prosecution of war and the defence of the country. It was suggested even in responsible quarters that it amounted to the establishment of the two-nation theory. It is unconceivable where the two-nation theory comes in. In the reconstruction of the Executive Council within the framework of the present constitution, which, like an emergency national cabinet, had to be reconstructed, not on the basis of counting of heads but what the heads contain. Look at the British Cabinet. You have Labour members out of all proportion to their strength in the Parliament. On the occasion of another national crisis Mr. Ramsay MacDonald had only three Labourite Ministers in his cabinet. But still they say Mr. Jinnah is bent on exacting his pound of flesh. We suffer from lack of propaganda and want of funds. But by misrepresenting us there was not going to be any gain to anybody.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, the British Government slept for a year. Then they suddenly woke up on the 22nd July,

1941, they announced their decision about expanding the Executive Council and constituting the so-called National Defence Council.The Government in the teeth of our opposition and contrary to our decision forced this scheme upon us. They tried to manoeuvre and wean some of our members by associating them with this scheme. Three of them were provincial Premiers of whom two were members of the Working Committee. Well, you know what happened. I am glad, and we have reason to be proud that the British Government have been taught a lesson. Out of evil cometh good! Muslim India from one end to another demonstrated that it was solidly behind the Muslim League. I hope in future our opponents will learn that it is futile to attempt to create disruption in our ranks. That chapter is now closed.

The next thing is our attitude inside the Legislature. The reconstruction of the Central Government was forced upon Muslim India in total disregard of the position of the Muslim League and as a mark of protest the Muslim League Party withdrew from the Central Legislature which is a perfectly legitimate constitutional method for a party in opposition to adopt.

What next? you will ask. Let us now consider the other issues in this country. A serious situation has been created by the British policy in regard to Muslim countries. It has raised doubts and suspicions. You must have read of the proceedings of the last meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council. There can be no doubt that if the British Government do not make it clear as to what their intentions are regarding Muslim States, and also that they have no designs on their sovereignty and independence, I feel that it would be very difficult to control Muslim India any more.

You might have read the utterances of Hindu leaders and editorials of responsible Hindu papers. They are putting

forward arguments most mischievous and dangerous but which are bound to recoil on their own heads. The opponents of Pakistan say to the British Government that if Pakistan came, a whisper in Assam would re-echo in Ankara and Istanbul, and that Pakistan was more a danger to the British than to Hindus! Therefore, they say to the British Government! 'The first need is to disrupt the Muslim States. If you disrupt them Pakistan will be buried deep and you and we will rule India! 'It is a most foolish proposition. Don't they realise that the disruption of Muslim States means subjugation of all the peoples of India for ever?

We are told that the declaration of August, 1940, gives a veto to the Muslim League. They repeat it parrot-like. Do you think that a constitution can be worked if 90 million Muslims are opposed to it? In the first instance the British Government would be very foolish if they foisted a constitution framed in consultation with Hindus only. After all, who will enforce the constitution? What will be the sanction behind it? How will it work? There is no doubt that a substantial amount of power will be transferred which means withdrawal of British authority. Who will then be left? Power will pass automatically into the hands of Hindus. It is, however admitted by the British Government that Muslim India is a constituent factor and a vital element in the national life of this country. How then can you have a constitution without the willing assent of the Muslim people?

With regard to the present situation Mr. Gandhi had remarked, 'Mass action at this stage without communal unity is an invitation to civil war. If civil war is to be our lot it will come. But if I know the Congress mind, it will never come at the wish or invitation of the Congress. I think Muslim India will feel relived at this assurance of Mr. Gandhi! (Laughter) But why talk of civil war? Why not apply your mind as practical men? They are fighting for a constitution with India as a single unit in

which Muslims can only be treated as a minority. That position can never be accepted by Muslims. We are on the defensive, not on the offensive. What we suggest is that we take over the government of this country under a system which we can both work. Why stick to a system which has failed for a quarter of a century? We have failed, because the basic principles on which we work are different. What happens when two brothers cannot pull together? They resort to partition and then they are happy. Under the Pakistan scheme we want to do the same. The Hindus will have three-fourths of India with a population of 250 millions. Is it not fair? Should this proposal lead to civil war? I only want a share and Mr. Gandhi wants the whole. At whose wish will the civil war come?

Well, ladies and gentlemen, what are the Hindu leaders saying? I will quote only one passage from the speech of a prominent erstwhile Congressman and an ex-Home Minister, Mr. Munshi. He is reported to have said, 'The State under the Pakistan scheme would not be a civil government responsible to a composite legislature consisting of all communities, but a religious State pledged to rule according to the teachings of that religion thus by implication excluding all others not following that religion from a share in the government. One crore and thirteen lakhs of Sikhs and Hindus would constitute a minority under the protection of the religious State of the Muslims. These Hindus and Sikhs would be on sufferance in the Punjab and would be foreigners in Hindustan.' Is it not an incitement to the Sikhs and Hindus? Telling them that it would be a religious State excluding them from all power, is entirely untrue. He seems to suggest that non-Muslims in Pakistan will be treated as untouchables. Let me tell Mr. Munshi that untouchability is only known to his religion and his philosophy and not ours. Islam stands for justice, equality, fairplay, toleration and even generosity to non-Muslims who may be under our protection. They are like brothers to us and would be the citizens for the

State.

A great deal has been made of the Atlantic Charter by Hindu leaders. They complain that they are excluded from it. What a calamity! They ask for a fresh declaration, and then they think the calamity will go off. What is the use of this declaration or that declaration? As far as Muslim India is concerned, we have forged our own charter and that is Pakistan. And for this charter of ours we want to make it clear we will sacrifice anything and everything. Dismiss from your mind that it is a counter for bargaining or a catchword. All these inferences, all these interpretations are wrong. Propaganda is going on even in foreign countries that Muslim League is only manoeuvring to wrest as much power as possible. Mr. Gandhi said in 1939 that the Muslim League was out to sell itself to the highest bidder. It is a most reprehensible lie. We are not going to budge an inch from the position we have taken. Nothing will make us swerve from our goal. We are determined to watch and guard our own interests, and we are capable of doing it separately.

Bombay Sentinel, November 6, 1941. & "Pakistan, The Muslim Charter," published by Shakir H. Khan, Secretary, Mulsim University Union, Aligarh, pp. 3-12.

488

Speech at the Concluding Session of the Aligarh Muslim League Conference, Aligarh, November 4, 1941.

Referring to the political awakening among the Muslims Mr. Jinnah said that though they had still a long way to go towards their goal, one thing was clear - the Muslim people had now begun to see things in their correct perspective. They had successfully accomplished the first stage of their progress. Mr. Jinnah appealed to them to concentrate now on constructive

work and nation - building departments so that the achievement of their goal might be hastened.

The Hindustan Times, November 6, 1941.

489

Statement contradicting his communication with some members of the Parliament, New Delhi, November 10, 1941

With reference to recent comments in the newspapers on the communication which Mr. Jinnah is alleged to have sent to some members of the British Parliament, Mr. Jinnah states that the allegations are absolutely without any foundation. He says that he has written no letter to any member of Parliament, nor has he suggested a scheme to isolate the Congress and form a combination of the British, the Indian Princes and the Muslim League.

The Civil & Military Gazette, November 11, 1941.

490

Message to the Pakistan Conference (Lucknow), Bombay, November 22, 1941.

"I fully realise the great importance of the Conference. I am advised and feel myself that it will be dangerous for me to undertake the journey in the condition in which I am. I assure you that I would not have disappointed the historically and politically most important city in the province of U.P. if I could have managed to travel.

"The Muslim League is now strong enough to take care

of itself. I have no doubt that your conference will be a magnificent success and perhaps another occasion will present itself at no distant date when I will have the honour to visit Lucknow."

The Dawn, December 7, 1941.

491

Message of Congratulation to the Muslim League of Bengal, New Delhi, December 5, 1941.

"I congratulate the members of the Muslim League in Bengal for having formed the Muslim League Party in the Assembly and having elected Sir Nazimuddin as their leader," said Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah in a statement, issued to the Press.

Continuing he said: "I appeal to every Muslim Leaguer in particular, and other Muslim members of the Bengal Assembly to join the party and maintain the solidarity and unity of Muslim Bengal to meet the machinations of over half a dozen miscellaneous groups who, otherwise being poles asunder have come together and call themselves as Coalition Party merely on the basis of causing disruption amongst the Mussalmans, and Mr. Fazlul Haq has accepted the leadership of such a combination.

"I regret that Mr. Fazlul Haq has been a party to intrigues with other groups and has broken away from the Muslim League. He has been now for some considerable time trying to stab the Muslim League in the back and now his open departure from the League, I hope, will enable the Muslim League party to work on sound healthy and honourable lines.

"Finally, I appeal to all Muslims inside and outside the legislature to stand by the leadership of Sir Nazimuddin and the

Muslim League Party in the Assembly. I assure Sir Nazimuddin and the Muslim League Party in the Assembly of the fullest support and help of the All-India Muslim League."

QAP-File-1022/p.26 &
The Dawn, December 7, 1941.

492

Message to the General Secretary, Aligarh Muslim Students Federation, New Delhi, December 6, 1941.

"I am glad to learn that Aligarh Muslim Students' Federation is going to start its own paper, the first issue of which is coming out on 8th of December 1941.

As for the message I would refer you to my Lahore speech at the sessions of the All-India Muslim League:

"I have placed before you the task that lies ahead of us. Do you realise how big and stupendous it is? Do you realise that you cannot get freedom or independence by mere arguments? I should appeal to the intelligentsia. The intelligentsia in all countries in the world have been pioneers of all movements for freedom. What does the Muslim intelligentsia propose to do? I may tell you that unless you get this into your blood, unless you are prepared to take off your coats and are willing to sacrifice all that you can and work selflessly, earnestly and sincerely for your people you will never realise your aim."

"I wish you all success in your venture and hope that your paper will be a medium for the uplift of the Mussalmans generally and of the intelligentsia in particular."

493

Released to the press his telegraphic ultimatum to Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq, New Delhi, December 6, 1941.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League has sent the following telegram to the Bengal Premier, Mr.A.K. Fazlul Haq :-

"Prima facie" your action and conduct are highly improper and wrong in joining the miscellaneous groups in Bengal Assembly, whose only object is to break the Muslim League and Muslim solidarity in Bengal. It is also contrary to all rules of the constitution of the Provincial and All-India Muslim League, which you have defied by your action. I call upon you to show cause why disciplinary action should not be taken against you as a Member of the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League. Please send me any explanation you may have to give within 48 hours of the receipt of this telegram, before I take action against you. Failing the receipt of an explanation I proceed ex parte. — JINNAH.

The Star of India, December 6, 1941.

494

Released to the press his telegraphic notice calling the explanation of Mr. Fazlul Haq, New Delhi, December 8, 1941.

The following telegram has been sent by Mr. Jinnah to Mr. Fazlul Huq:

"Your telegram dated the 7th the statement embodied therein is contrary to facts and documentary evidence. According to known facts your conduct amounts to treachery.

"I am not influenced by individual quarrels of which you never informed me before nor even now as to what it is. You have defied the Provincial League and its decision of which you happen to be President without reference to the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League or me.

"You have formed a coalition. It is not open to individual members of the League to form a clique or coalition without the approval of the Provincial or the All-India Muslim League. You have declined to join the Muslim League Party decided upon by the Provincial Muslim League.

"You have betrayed the former Coalition Party of which you were leader and in which the Muslim League group was largest by your intrigues with parties in opposition behind the League's back. I cannot postpone action and allow defectory tactics and your passing off, in the meantime, as a loyal Muslim Leaguer.

"I give you an opportunity to send me your fullest explanation if you have any further explanation. You may send it before the 10th or else I must proceed to take action." (A.P.I.)

The Star of India, December 9, 1941.

495

Statement to the press expelling Mr. A.K. Fazlul Haq from the League, New Delhi, December 12, 1941.

"The following charges were communicated to Mr. Fazlul Haq telegraphically – that he had acted contrary to the rules and constitution of the Provincial and the All-India Muslim League; that he had joined a Coalition. Party of the miscellaneous groups whose policy and programme were antagonistic to those of the All-India Muslim League, and that in

itself was an express breach and defiance of the decision and resolutions of the All-India Muslim League; that he had defied the Provincial Muslim League and their decision of which he was the President, without reference to the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League or the President; that he had declined to join the Muslim League Party in the legislature, recently decided upon by the Provincial Muslim League; that he had betrayed the former coalition party of which he was the leader and in which the Muslim League group was the largest, by his secret intrigues with the miscellaneous opposition groups which culminated in the formation of the so-called coalition party, behind the back of the former coalition party and the Provincial Muslim League; that he was given time to send in his fullest explanation by December 10 last. He has failed to do so.

Revelation

"In his telegram to the Honorary Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, received on the morning of December 9 he has for the first time, made the astounding relevation, that the crisis in Bengal was due solely to the personal differences between him and a few members of the Provincial Muslim League. He has asserted his loyalty to the League to be as unshakable as ever and appealed for an inquiry to be made with regard to the alleged differences, without even specifying what they were. In reply he was informed that he had already violated the rules and resolutions of the All-India Muslim League by joining a coalition party of miscellaneous groups whose policy and programme were beyond doubt antagonistic to the All-India Muslim League and that he was guilty of flouting the express mandate of the League in this behalf, by not only associating himself with this combination but accepting the leadership of such a combination. He was informed that the President and the Working Committee would be willing to hold an inquiry as requested by him provided he completely dissociated himself from the coalition and resigned his leadership by December 10,

to which also he has sent no reply.

Guilty

"In these circumstances I have come to the conclusion that Mr. Fazlul Haq is guilty of gross misconduct which is calculated to harm not only the Muslim League organisation in Bengal and the vital interests of Bengal Muslims but the All-India Muslim League and Muslim India generally. I, therefore, hold that he is unworthy of membership of the Muslim League, and that he should be expelled from the organisation. I, therefore, remove his name from the Working Committee, the Council of the All-India Muslim League and the membership of the Provincial, District and Primary Leagues of Bengal, and he shall not be eligible for membership of the Muslim League organisation."

QAP-File-1022/pp.29-30 &
The Dawn, December, 14, 1941.

496

Press Interview, Bombay, December 17, 1941.

"Mr. Jinnah referred to the grave international situation, particularly in relation to India, and said that the Muslim League by a resolution which it adopted in June, 1940, had tendered its advice to His Excellency the Viceroy and His Majesty's Government but unfortunately neither of them paid any serious heed to it but instead made an offer for the expansion of the Executive Council in August, 1940, which did not give any real share in the authority, power and control of the Government either at the Centre or in the provinces.

This offer, Mr. Jinnah recalled, beyond indicating the

inclusion of two Muslim League members in the Council, gave no information regarding the total strength of the expanded Council, the number of additional members, and the other parties which were going to be associated with it. No information was available as to what would happen to the Muslim League representation in the event of any other party deciding at a later stage to come in. Furthermore, no information regarding the portfolios was furnished nor was the Muslim League told what was to happen in the provinces which were administered by Governors under Section 93 of the Government of India Act.

A Grave Mistake

Mr. Jinnah added: "Therefore, we had no alternative but to express our inability to accept such an offer. Since then the Viceroy, ignoring the Muslim League, decided upon the expansion of his Executive Council and the setting up of the so-called National Defence Council, and has nominated individual members. This decision was a grave mistake and is to be regretted. From this it is clear that neither the Viceroy nor His Majesty's Government desire our wholehearted co-operation but they merely demand obedience and slavish assistance without any real voice or share in the authority of the Government of India or in the defence of India. In the circumstances we are entirely helpless."

Proceeding Mr. Jinnah recalled the resolution adopted by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League in June, 1940. This resolution endorsed the Press statement issued by Mr. Jinnah on May 27, 1940, looked with alarm at the growing menace of Nazi aggression, stated that the proposals indicated in the statements of Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief were wholly inadequate to meet the urgent requirements of the situation, and authorized the President of the League to enter into communication with His

Excellency the Viceroy with a view to exploring the possibility of devising prompt and effective measures to mobilize the country's resources for the purpose of intensifying war efforts and defence of India.

The Dawn, December 21, 1941.

497

Statement to the News Chronicle, (London), Bombay, December 24, 1941

"I want the British public and statesmen to understand that the stand of the Muslim League is vitally different from that of the Congress and other Hindu organisations.

"It is somewhat difficult to understand the Congress, as even in the recent pronouncement of front-line leaders such as Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Nehru and others. They will have nothing to do with the prosecution of the war unless an immediate declaration of India's independence is made by the British Government and as free Indians they will determine their war policy.

"When they talk of the freedom of India and the independence of India, they entirely ignore the hundred million Muslims in this country. That is the first and foremost mistake, and it is most misleading to say that the Congress represents the Indian nation.

"There is no such thing as an Indian nation in existence. India is a constellation of nations and the two major nations are the Hindus and Muslims.

"I see that another blitz of agitation is again being set on foot by Hindu leaders because of the growing stress of the expansion of the war to coerce the British Government to make

a fresh move and go back on the declaration of August 8, which clearly laid down that not only the method and machinery to be set up to consider the future constitution of India should be by agreement of the major elements, but that the constitution itself, if it has to be worked successfully, must be framed by agreement of the major parties concerned as no future constitution can be forced against the will of one hundred million Muslims, for it will not survive the withdrawal of the British authority.

Stampeding Government

"I see a great danger in the British Government being stampeded under pressure of recent developments of the war to make a new declaration according to the designs of the Hindu leaders. They, first of all, want that the time-limit should be fixed after the war at the end of which the British Government must give a solemn undertaking and promise to give India a constitution as a single unit on the basis of a united and democratic India of the Westminster variety.

"This will be cancelling the August declaration and going back on it. Secondly, it clearly means that the constitution will be framed by the British Government instead of by the major political parties as laid down in the August declaration. What will be the sanction behind it as it must be assumed that British power must be substantially or wholly withdrawn when one hundred million Muslims are opposed to it? And lastly, the clear meaning of this demand by various schools of thought among the Hindus, although the Congress is opposed to it, would mean, in other words, clearly denouncing and condemning the Muslim demand for the partition of India.

"This will not only be most unfair to the Muslims but prejudging the consideration of the issue of the future constitution of India. And it will further clearly reduce the whole of Muslim India as an all-India minority under the heel of a Hindu Raj.

Sacred Creed

"Such a position Muslim India will never accept, and I want the British Government not to force Muslim India to fill Indian jails to convince them or to demonstrate that Pakistan is now our sacred creed, an article of faith, and any declaration by the British Government or Prime Minister which in any way will militate against it, Muslim India will resist with all the power it can command.

"The next point which I wish to make clear again is that the difference between the Muslim League and the Congress is very vital as regards their respective attitude towards this war.

"From the very beginning the Muslim League has offered its hand of fullest cooperation to the British Government provided a real share and voice in the authority and responsibility of the government at the Centre and in the provinces was given within the frame-work of the present constitution, without prejudice to the major issues involved with regard to the future constitution of India, whereas the Congress have definitely and repeatedly declined to look at any proposal within the framework of the present constitution and prevailing law.

"They insist upon the major issues being settled immediately, ignoring the Muslims and that too in a manner detrimental to the vital interests of the Muslims.

Co-operation Rejected

"I have come to the conclusion that the British Government do not care or value sufficiently the cooperation and assistance of the Muslims except as camp followers and that they are waiting until they can persuade the Congress to come in or else they have no desire to part with any power in favour of those who fully realize the common peril of this war both to Great Britain and India and are thus willing provisionally to

accept the position described by me above as a war contract.

"We have clearly indicated this to the Viceroy and His Majesty's Government as far back as June, 1940, and offered our co-operation on that basis and advised them to go ahead with the Muslim League and such other parties as were willing to undertake the responsibility of the defence of our country and to intensify the war efforts in face of the imminent and common danger. But I am afraid no serious heed has been paid to it so far. It is for the British Government to decide how long they propose to wait until the Congress makes up its mind." (A.P.I.)

The Times of India, December 25, 1941 &
The Dawn, December 28, 1941.

498

Presidential Address delivered extempore at the fifth annual session of the All-India Muslim Students' Federation, Nagpur, December 26, 1941.

"Members of the All-India Muslim Students' Federation, ladies and gentlemen, —

"Although I find a large gathering of my young friends there is also a fairly large gathering of non-students. As I hinted last night, my chief object is to address particularly my young friends. The All-India Muslim Students' Federation was started about four or five years ago and I would, my young friends, draw your attention in the first instance to your constitution. The aims and objects of your constitution, which you must always keep in front of you and faithfully and loyally abide by, are to organise the Muslim students of India into a corporate body through provincial autonomous units and safeguard the interests of the Muslim student community. You know that the

Muslim student community has at times and particularly in these days got to safeguard their own interests. You may have many complaints. You may have many grievances. But it is by being in a corporate body that you can have your grievances redressed. I find that you have in that direction made many efforts and you had to face many troubles. That is one of your aims and objects.

Aim

Secondly, your aim is also to rouse the political consciousness amongst the Muslim students and to prepare them to take their proper share in the struggle for the freedom of the country. It is because of this that I have accepted the honour of presiding over your session to-day. It is because of this that I want to tell you what are the issues in front of you. I want to tell you that in the language of your own constitution — namely, to prepare you to take your proper share in the struggle for the freedom of the country. And, as such, let me shortly tell you that your Federation has made a remarkable progress in the last two years. I hope that you will grow, and grow still more. You must remember that I have repeatedly said that you are not expected to take active part in the political developments that are taking place from day to day, from week to week and from month to month; your primary duty to yourselves, to your parents and to your nation is that you should concentrate your attention on your studies while you are students. Remember that if you fritter away your precious and valuable time in other activities, while you are students, that time frittered away, that time wasted, will never come back. But, while that is your primary duty to yourselves, to your parents and to your nation, at the same time you must keep yourselves abreast of the political, social and economic developments in the country — not only in this country but the world at large. It is for this reason that I have always willingly accepted any invitation from the gathering of Muslim students.

Now, with regard to your domestic affairs — how you should devise ways and means of further consolidating your organisation and creating solidarity and unity among the Muslim students all over India. You will, I have no doubt, apply your mind now and after full deliberation pass such resolutions as you think proper.

League Growing

Next, you must remember, side by side with this preparation of yours for the future responsibilities which are bound to fall on your shoulders, that there is the All-India Muslim League organisation which is growing, and it s growing by leaps and bounds all over India. The Muslim League, during the last three years has made not only remarkable progress but a miraculous progress. You must, therefore, keep abreast of the movements and activities and developments of the All-India Muslim League and its policy and programme. My young friends, to-day you compare yourselves with what was the position of the Muslims even three years ago. Five year ago it was wretched. Ten years ago you were dead.

And within three years, as I said, you have succeeded in awakening the political consciousness of Muslim India from one end to the other end of this sub-continent. The Muslim League has given you a national flag. The Muslim League has given you common platform. The Muslim League has given you a goal which in my judgment is going to lead you to the promised land where we shall establish our Pakistan.

People may say what they like and talk as they like. Of course, he who laughs last, laughs best.

Now what is required further is, as I have been impressing whenever I have the opportunity, a definite clear-out constructive programme, side by side with our political activities.

Be Cheerful

We feel that we have no friends. We feel that we are surrounded by opponents from all directions and particularly about your province let me say a word. You are only four per cent in this province and you have gone through, as I said and as I anticipated in my speech as far back as 1937 at Lucknow, you have gone through the crucible of fire in this province. You have suffered. You are only four per cent in this province where an experiment is made of a new technique in the special laboratory of Wardha! No possible means were spared to terrorise you, to hurl you down. Of course, it is obvious that the policy that was pursued was not only unjust, not only unfair, but most cowardly — to terrorise four per cent of the population. (Cries of shame, shame).

There is no reason for you to be dejected. I tell you from this platform that I never felt more proud in my life than when I saw and heard and read about the magnificent stand that the Muslims of this province took. Suffer we have to. No nation was built and ever achieved its ambition without suffering and sacrifice. Therefore, it is obvious that this wretched constitution which was enacted in 1935, and even the provincial part of it, has been a dismal failure in this country. We shall have to revise our notions and our ideals. But I want the Muslims of this province to be cheerful and keep a stout heart, and I assure you that nothing will succeed which is unjust, unfair and dishonest.

I was telling you that so far as the Muslim League is concerned we are going faster than many people imagine. In our unity, in our solidarity and in our progress in various directions, all that I urge upon you, my young friends and others present here, is that the key is in your hands. Do not depend upon

anybody. You know, I will not preach aggressiveness. The Muslim League has always been on the defensive. I have always said it. It is no concession and it is no favour.

No Surrender

I have always said that we have no designs on the Hindu community or any other of the sister communities. But we cannot and we shall not surrender or submit to their domination and their raj in this sub-continent.

Look at the position now. You find on the one hand the present political situation and how the different organisations — Hindu organisations — are active. You have to get, in the first instance, the most powerful and the best organised Hindu body, the Congress.

I cannot understand that even to-day the Congress leaders have not the honesty and the frankness to recognise that they do not represent the Muslims. What is the use of talking about the divine *Rashtrapati*, taking him as a showboy? Whom are you misleading except yourselves? Whom are you deluding except yourselves? You know, I know, the world knows that to-day there is no doubt left in the mind of any man who has got a grain of commonsense that the All-India Muslim League is the only authoritative and representative organisation of the Muslims. Bardoli is still in darkness and I pray from Nagpur, in the vicinity of Wardha and Sewagram that God may throw some light on Bardoli!

Now, what does the Congress want? Sometimes it is difficult to know exactly what they want. It reminds me of Tennyson's words. He says: 'I sometimes think it a sin to put in words the thoughts I feel.'

Congress Position

So far as words go and so far as any intelligent man can ready those words, I will venture to say what I understand of the

position of the Congress. The official resolution and the official stand of the Congress is that Congress want the British Government to declare the independence of India immediately with the right of the people of the country to frame their own constitution by means of a constituent assembly to be elected on the basis of adult franchise. Then the Muslims will be favoured to be elected by their separate electorates. "When the Muslim interests in this assembly feel dissatisfied with the decision of the assembly – and arithmetically it is as certain as night follows day, and I know that the Muslims will not be satisfied, because in that constituent assembly there will be 75 per cent of Hindus, and I can give you hundreds of instances in the last three years, that on no important question has there been an agreement in any of the composite bodies that were set up; where you had an overwhelming majority of the Hindus and a minority of the Muslims – the privilege that will be accorded to us is that we can resort to some sort of arbitration. Who will appoint the personnel of the tribunal of arbitration? If I have to appoint the arbitrators of my choice, will they accept it? If not, who is to choose them? If we do not agree upon the choice of the arbitrators, then what is to happen? But, apart from all that we are told that we shall only be confined to the question of the safeguards as a minority. With regard to the other issues, the majority will decide. That, as I understand, is the official stand of the Congress.

Stand By It

The creed of the Congress is, as it has been recently interpreted by front rank leaders like Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, complete independence.

Mr. Jawaharlal, in a very recent speech said, in quoting Cromwell in so many words, that the British must get out of this country. Well now, if that is your stand, stand by it like a man. Do not whine. Why do you ask the British Government to make

a declaration and why do you ask the British Government to give facilities for having a constituent assembly? Like a man, stand by it and say to the British 'get out' in the words of Cromwell.

Then comes the Muslim divine, Rashtrapati Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. What does he say?

Then spokesman and the President of the Indian National Congress says that unless the British Government change they cannot change. But if the British Government change, what will happen to your creed of independence? Do you want to compromise? Do you want to compromise your soul? That is what the Muslim divine says by implication.

What does Mr. Rajagopalacharya say? He says that: 'Well I think, we ought to revive the Poona offer.' The consequence of reviving the Poona offer will be no doubt that they will lose their beloved leader, Mr. Gandhi, a great specialist and a great expert in coercing and blackmailing the British authorities to part with power.

Mr. Gandhi

Mr. Gandhi has always been saying: 'I am against all wars, I cannot help any war even if the defence of my own country is concerned; if Hitler comes, let him walk over our bodies, and we will offer the *satyagraha*.' But what did he do when the Poona offer was made, which was, of course, made on the basis that if the British Government conceded the Congress demand there was no doubt that the Congress would take the fullest part in the prosecution of the war and in defending India and England? Mr. Gandhi was so shocked that the could not remain any more as the general of the Congress, although he is not even a four-anna member of the Congress. He said that as a specialist and general, 'I cannot carry on with it.'

What did he do? You remember that the very next day

he gave an interview to the British press, strongly recommending to the British Government not to lose the opportunity but grasp the Poona offer, and if they did not, they will be making their greatest blunder.

A man who is against all wars, a man who believes in *ahimsa*, a man who says that the Congress has gone against his life-long conviction and ideal of *ahimsa* and, therefore, he cannot be with the Congress, the very next morning gives an interview to th British press, supporting the Poona offer.

Therefore, it is difficult to understand what the Congress wants and what the Congress is driving at.

Pretensions

Then we have Mr. Rajagopalacharya. He seems to be in a very chastened mood. He thinks it futile to go to jail over and over again.

They are all meeting now in Bardoli. In the Congress itself, you have Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Jawaharlal and Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya, and these three say three different things.

I ask you, as intelligent men, as people who must try and come to some conclusion, I ask what is the conclusion you come to? The obvious conclusion that one can come to is this, that the Congress is pretending and posing to be on the highest pedestal. These poses and pretensions are nothing but a by play.

They have their other counterparts who are working, and those counterparts are, in the first instance, the Hindu Mahasabha. Of course, the Hindu Mahasabha, so far as the Muslims are concerned, does not mince words. Their leaders are quite clear. Mr. Savarkar in his recent speech, which was unfortunately not delivered at Bhagalpur, does not mince words. He makes it quite clear that 'I stand for my nation and the Hindu domination.' He says in clear language that in this sub-continent 'Hindu raj must be established; that if the Muslims do

not behave, they will annex Afghanistan and carry the frontier to Hindukush. The sooner the Muslims realise the position the better for them. The Muslims cannot get one iota more concession than as a minority.' That is quite clear. All I say is that Dr. Moonje, Mr. Savarkar and their colleagues are running amuck, and they are doing the greatest possible harm to the Hindus and the least harm to the Muslims. I am glad that they make it clear, not like the Congress, finessing and concealing their real thoughts and playing in diplomatic language, none of that. And I am glad to say that neither the Congress nor anybody else now, thank God, can fool the Muslims.

Mahasabha Ambition

What is the Hindu Mahasabha doing? Its ambition is to militarise and industrialise the Hindus, urge the Hindus to join the Army, the Navy and the Air Force and support the war. Militarise what? Industrialise what? the Hindu nation? I ask Mr. Savarkar and field-marshal Moonje: Do you think that everybody in this country is a fool? Do you think that you can fool the British? Why this sort of talk and why this lip-loyalty of co-operation with an ulterior motive of filling the ranks of the Army, the Navy and the Air Force by Hindus? And then what will they do? The answer is clear. then they say, 'Pakistan will evaporate into the air, and the British will go back to London town and settle down there.' Don't you think that these gentlemen who talk like this should be locked up somewhere?

My young friends, the Hindu Mahasabha is dreaming. Dreaming of what? They do not make any secret of it. Why is it that they are against Pakistan? Why? Our proposal of Pakistan is not inimical to them if they honestly and dispassionately examine it.

The Muslims says: Give me those parts of India where we are in majority and where I have got my homeland. Let me live there under my own rule and I undertake to protect the

non-Muslim minority. You live in the Hindu India proper and you can protect the Muslim minority. You have three-fourths.

The Whole

But they do not want three-fourths; they want the whole. How are they going to get the whole? What is Mr. Savarkar's scheme? His scheme is that when he gets 75 per cent of the Hindus in the Army, in the Navy and the Air Force and in the administration — and by that time I think Field-Marshal Moonje will see to it that every Hindu eats meat — he will then see that Hindu raj is established!

What is to happen to those Muslims who are in the north-west and north-east? What will happen to those frontiers? It is this. The frontiers will be occupied by the Hindu garrison just as the British garrison is occupying the north-west. Instead of the British it will be Hindu garrison, entirely composed of Hindus, who will see and make it their business to see that the Muslims in those parts are not allowed to raise their heads. They will establish a central government and that central government will have the supreme control over the entire sub-continent. Of course, Afghanistan might be added later on. And thereby Muslim India will never get even to the point of obtaining any kind of responsible government but certainly not to the point of developing themselves to a status or position of an independent State. In other words, their rights are gone for ever, the right to the status of an independent country with their own army, air force and navy in those parts of the sub-continent.

Gentlemen, when we come to think of it, not only it is a dream but it is the greatest folly to persist in the position as the Hindu Mahasabha is doing.

Sinister Motive

What is the demand of the Hindu Mahasabha? Now they have give up every demand except Bhagalpur.' That will be

settled within a few days. They say to the British: 'We are willing to be your camp followers, we are willing to serve you in any capacity you want; you throw open the Army, the Navy and the Air Force to the Hindus; we will do what you want.'

But while they are saying this with a sinister and insidious motive, which no one can mistake for anything else, at the same time they are pressing for the establishment of Hindudom through another brother. He says: 'You must fix a time-limit and give India Dominion Status of the Westminster variety.'

Who is to give it? The British Government? I ask, is it not, on the face of it, futile and absurd? In the first instance the British Government cannot do it. But even if they do it, do you expect the British Government to put Savarkar on the *gaddi* and do the policing of his raj? What is the sanction behind this constitution of Dominion Status of the Westminster variety? How is that to be given? As Mr. Amery rightly says, it is not a decoration or medal that can be attached to your buttonhole with a safety pin. It is a question of running the government of this sub-continent. So you want that the British bayonet should keep you on the *gaddi*? Do you expect it?

Time Limit

That is their demand. I ask you, what is behind this demand? I cannot be very obtuse. Let us give some credit to the opponent's intelligence, however stupid they may be. What are they driving at? You will see that the Mahasabha puts a time-limit, within a year or two after the war, and wants that the British Government must undertake and promise to give India Dominion Status of the Westminster variety. What does it mean? If the British Government make a declaration to-day, that within a year or two, after the war, they solemnly undertake and declare that they shall establish in this country a government similar to Canada, as Dominion of the Westminster variety. It

means that the constitution will no longer be framed with the consent of the major parties; in other words, the consent of the Muslims is not necessary. Then, with whose approval will the British Government give the constitution? Of course, the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha. If they are satisfied, and even if the Muslims are not satisfied, that does not matter, the British Government will say: 'We have given our promise and we must enact the constitution.' I want to know if the constitution is enacted as promised, whether it means the withdrawal of the British military forces? Then what is the sanction behind it? Let me tell you that in the first instance the British are not such fools; even if they do commit such a folly, let me tell you that that constitution will not last for a fortnight.

The Brothers

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru says: Make a declaration of India's independence. Sir T.B. Sapru, who is most subtle and plausible – therefore all the more treacherous – also says the same thing. You can see the family likeness. What does he say? In his statement of December 25, he says: 'India must be made to feel that in doing the best they can for the war effort, they are not only discharging their obligation to the Commonwealth but are also fighting for the preservation of their free life.' He recommends first that a anew declaration that India would no longer be treated as a dependency be made forthwith. One brother says, declare India independent. The other brother says, declare that India will no longer be treated as a dependency. Can you see the distinction between the two? Why does Sir T.B. Sapru and the liberals talk like this?

In a recent speech what does Mr. Sastri say? He says the same thing in another language – the same family resemblance. He says that we must give all the safeguards to the Muslims, consistently with national interests. Whose national interests? Which nation? Hindu or Muslim? Therefore, the more you

examine it the same you will find – the same song of Hindudom.

I want to impress upon you on what lines the Hindu leaders are going and how they are all aiming at the same thing, more or less, speaking in different languages. One is more plausible, while the other is more blunt. But they all mean the same thing – namely, central Government with all-India as a single unit, a united India which means Hindu majority rule, not a political majority but the majority of one nation and one society over another nation and another society. They want that you must be reduced to the position of an all-India minority. You will only be given such necessary safeguards as a minority as well not be inconsistent with the national interest of the Hindus.

Ladies and gentlemen, that means that not only where we are in a minority but also where we are in the majority, the entire Muslim community will come under the heel of the Hindu raj and will be treated and kept down as a minority to look to their orders and work under their yoke. That is a position which the Muslims will never accept as long as the last Muslim is alive. The sooner they give up this sort of camouflage the better.

Another Blitz

Why are these statements pouring in just at this Christmas time? The Hindu leaders, in their statesmanship, imagine that Britain is now in the grip of a more dreadful struggle after the Japanese entry into the war. This time England is under such stress and feels so embarrassed and some moved that they must seek help somewhere. Their resources and preparations may not be sufficient to meet the new Japanese menace. So they think that England is now shaky and that this is the time to start another blitz of agitation, and under the stress of these developments coerce the British Government and stampede them to make some commitment in favour of Hindu India. Their hopes are raised to a certain extent, because in the first instance the Government of India is supposed to have

made a gesture in releasing a certain class of prisoners. They are further encouraged because of the ignorance of the British press. When you read those newspapers, you cannot help being amused at their utter ignorance of the conditions in India. They write according to their light. In those articles the Hindu leaders find that the British are nervous, and that this is the proper time for them. That is why these plethora of statements are being issued.

It is because of this that the Congress is still contemplating. They sat for nine hours on the first day at Bardoli. They had another nine hours on the following day. They will sit for many more days. You know, they are clever people. They may keep a loophole here and another loophole there to save their neck. Because, after all, what will happen? If Mr. Rajagopalacharya succeeds, Mr. Gandhi retires. It does not make any difference. Mr. Gandhi is not even a four-anna member of the Congress. But he will always remain a member of the Congress as a non-member of the Congress!

It is now announced to the world that the A.I.C.C. will meet on January 15 next. The world must wait with pulsating heart and await the decision of the A.I.C.C. at Wardha. But let me tell you that it is not going to move us by a hair's breadth.

13 Points

I will read the latest of Mr. Gandhi. He has formulated his 13 points as a constructive programme to attain *Purna Swaraj*. Mr. Gandhi is not long-winded, and you can put any interpretation on whatever he says, and he can put any interpretation on whatever he writes, whenever he likes. I think this is pretty clear. He says that the first item is communal unity. By communal unity they mean that they want the Muslims to surrender and submit to the Congress and sign their own death warrant. Then comes removal of untouchability, prohibition (on which point they will not find us differing),

khadi, village industries, village sanitation, basic education, adult education, uplift of women, education of health and hygiene, propaganda of *rashtrabhasha*, love of one's language and working for economic equality. Economic equality with whom? With the British and not with us!

One important amendment I would make is to add that the Congress accept Pakistan and thus make it 14 points! This will make settlement very easy. As to the question of the language, love of one's language and working for economic equality, we will not have to quarrel over it. We will speak what we think proper as our mother tongue in our zones where we want to rule as an independent country, and you speak whatever you think proper.

Purna Swaraj

Mr. Gandhi may say what he likes. He has picked up this issue of freedom of speech. He is only fighting for the freedom of speech, he says. Read the latest statement of the high priest of the Congress. There is no doubt left that there is only one method left which he has picked up for coercing and embarrassing the authorities: to make them bend and yield to this troublesome nuisance that he is creating by the individual *satyagraha* not for freedom of speech but for, as he himself says, 'the construction of *Purna Swaraj* or complete independence.' Referring to civil disobedience he says that it can never be applied for general terms such as for independence. The issue must be definite and capable of being clearly understood and within the power of the opponent to yield. This method properly applied, he says, must lead to the final goal.

What is the final goal, I ask? Not freedom of speech but *Purna Swaraj*. Do you believe that he is fighting for freedom of speech? Does any man with commonsense believe it? He is fighting for the final goal. This is only one method of compelling the opponent to yield on this point. Then will come another

point, and then another. This is behind Mr. Gandhi's *satyagraha*.

Ignorance

I think I have taken all this trouble in order to make my young friends understand the true position in the country, because, I regret to say, I find a colossal amount of ignorance among the Muslim intelligentsia and student community.

The congress is against any war effort. They must preach and shout slogans for the prevention of war effort. But what have they done in Sind? There the Congress Party is supporting Mr. Allah Bux, although he is supporting the war effort. Not only is he supporting the war effort but he has actually accepted the nomination in that so-called National Defence Council. When the questions was raised, Mr. Gandhi left it conveniently to the Parliamentary Committee. And this Parliamentary Committee decided that 'peculiar circumstances of Sind were such that the Congress Party should not withdraw the support from the Premier, Mr. Allah Bux.'

What did the Congress Party do in Assam? They are willing to support Mr. Chowdhry who mysteriously left the coalition party of which he was a member and by virtue of which he was a member of the ministry. He has formed another party. What is the position of the Congress? They were ready and willing to support the ministry of Mr. Chowdhry. But the monkey came into do justice between the two cats and Section 93, instead, has come in. Now both Sir Saadullah and Chowdhry can go to rest.

And in Bengal, what is the Congress Party doing? The Congress Party has supported this new coalition ministry formed by Mr. Haq, and by virtue of it he was able to form a government and continue to be the Premier. It was by virtue of Mr. Haq being the Premier, Lord Linlithgow announced, that

the later will now have the honour of the support of this great Premier who will now be, as Premier of Bengal, a member of the so-called National Defence Council. The Congress is supporting him!

Now I make a Christmas gift of Mr. Haq to Lord Linlighgow! I make another New Years's gift of the Nawab of Dacca to the Governor of Bengal! I am very glad and I am happy that Muslim India is rid of these men who are guilty of the grossest treachery and betrayal of the Muslims.

This shows that no man is indispensable to our organisation. If he is a traitor or a quisling he must be expelled. We shall now march more honourably and become stronger when we have weeded out this class of treacherous individuals. Now no power on earth can stop us from going forward and growing strong.

Our Position

My young friends, with regard to the British Government and the League, I think I need not take up much of your time. Our position has been made repeatedly clear. Only the day before yesterday I issued a statement to the *News Chronicle* clarifying our position. Our position is just and I have no doubt it will continue to be so. I think no man, who has got the slightest sense of justice and fairness, can blame us. Our position has been that we recognise the common danger to Britain and India. We recognise the common peril. In the interests of our own people and to protect our own homes and hearths, we are willing to take our share in this peril. But we cannot do that successfully unless we are placed in a position of having real and genuine share in the responsibility and authority of the Government at the Centre and in the Province.

The British Government are responsible for wasting these more than two years, and I think that if they go on

delaying like this, they will regret and rue the day for allowing this sincere, honest and straightforward offer of the Muslim League to lapse.

Solidarity

In the end I say to you one thing more. Muslim, you must maintain complete unity and solidarity amongst yourselves. Nobody can help you if you quarrel among yourselves, and you will go asunder. Therefore, maintain unity and solidarity. I want you that, however much you may be moved, however much you may feel wronged, whatever may be your grievances, you should not resort to any individual action which will prejudice our cause and precipitate matters.

No individual action, I mean of resistance or defiance of law and order, should be adopted by any individual. Not even the District League, not even the Provincial League should do so. Keep yourselves absolutely united and solid and wait. When the order comes from the All-India Muslim League then I will be first to march with you. At no time was it more necessary than at this very critical and dangerous time that you should implicitly pledge and selflessly surrender yourselves to our watchword — *Faith, unity* and *discipline.*

The Dawn, January 4, 1942.

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Speech at the concluding session of the All-India Muslim Students' Federation, Nagpur, December 28, 1941.

The goal of Muslim India was simple and clear. It was Pakistan. The Muslims, therefore, must be up and doing and they should always be ready to intake any sacrifice that was

demanded of them. Thus observed Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah in his concluding speech at the closing session of the All-India Muslim Students Federation at Nagpur.

The moment the Qa'id-e-Azam rose to address the gathering in Urdu, there was a wave to enthusiasm among the audience who shouted Qa'id-e-Azam uttered went straight to the hearts of the people.

Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah said that soon after the Pakistan Resolution was passed at Lahore thousands of Muslims came to see him in the Railway train which was carrying him to Bombay and greeted him with shouts of "Pakistan Zindabad" with unprecedented enthusiasm. When the train reached Bombay, Muslims assembled at the platform greeted him and expressed their joy at the idea of establishing Pakistan in India. The most interesting episode was that of two bright Muslim children who came to him shouting "Pakistan Zindabad." One was nearly seven years old and the other was ten. He got interested and asked them what they meant by "Pakistan." At first they became nervous but soon got over their shyness and answered that where the Muslims were in a majority, the Muslims must rule. The Quaid-e-Azam said that he was immensely satisfied with the reply and further questioned them as to where they were in a majority? The reply was on the tip of their tongues and they cried out with one voice "Punjab, Sind, Bengal." He said that it was, therefore, impossible for him to think that there was any Muslim who did not understand what was meant by Pakistan. The fact was that the Mussalmans had absolutely no difficulty in understanding what was meant by Pakistan. The people who did not understand it rather refused to understand it, were his Hindu brethren.

The Goal

The goal of Muslims in India he said, was simple and clear. It was Pakistan. But the question was how the

Mussalmans were to achieve it. Its achievement, he said, was in the hands of the Muslims themselves who should know that there was nobody who was going to help them in reaching their goal for the simple reason that others had nothing to gain from it except the Muslims. The Hindus were opposed to it because they wanted Hindu Raj in the whole of India, and they wanted to establish Hindudom throughout the country.

The Muslims, therefore, must be up and doing and they should always be ready to make any sacrifice that was demanded of them.

The Quaid-e-Azam said that if they continued their efforts and organized themselves thoroughly well on the League platform and spoke with one voice and one soul they were sure to see that even those who were opposed to them would become their friends and they would willingly come forward to make peace with them (Muslims).

He laid great stress on the internal purity of the organisation and said that so long as the members of the Muslims League were imbibed with the true spirit of Islam and worked harmoniously for the cause of Muslim India loyally and selflessly, their success, under any circumstances, was certain. He advised the workers not to be impatient for reward or recognition of their services. He told them that when the time came these things would automatically follow. He pointed out that any effort which was made essentially in the spirit of service was in itself the best reward.

Discrimination

Referring to the arrest and imprisonment of Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan, Allama Mashriqi and Dr. Abdul Sattar Khairi of Aligarh, he condemned the discriminative attitude of the Government towards Mr. Gandhi who had started the Civil Disobedience movement in defiance of Law and order and yet was free from the clutches of the law. The Indian Penal Code

and the Defence of India Act were not meant for Mr. Gandhi as everyone could see. The reason, he said was obvious. He added that the time was fast approaching when the Government would equally find it impossible to lay their hands upon any Muslim.

He advised the Mussalmans to be cautious as their path was full of snares and that they should always proceed step by step. He did not therefore, want them to be in a dreadful haste about anything and thus take a rash step only to repent afterwards.

Temptation

He particularly advised the students to follow his advice carefully and organise themselves as best as they could. If they did so, he had no doubt that they would be successful in the task they had set to themselves. He reminded them that theirs was, at any rate, not a political organisation and that there was a vast field and enormous work to be done by them in various spheres. He exhorted them to apply their mind to the various social educational and economic problems which deserved the best of their attention during the holidays, in addition to their academic pursuits. These, he said, were the spheres for them in which they could make their full contribution. He warned them against the temptation of catching the lime-light, which, he said, would sap the very foundation of a good educational career.

Referring to the condition of the Depressed Classes in India, he said that that was the greatest blot on the history of this country and advised the students that a lot of social work could be done in that direction too. He said it was no use students wasting their time in superficial talks about controversial matters which did not result in anything good.

Concluding he observed "we will have Pakistan sooner than you think or I think."

The Dawn, January 11, 1942.

1942

500

Interview to the Associated Press of India on British Policy, Bombay, January 2, 1942.

"If any new declaration is made on the part of the British Government, departing from the declaration of August 8, 1940, as to the future constitution of India, or any proposal or move, which in any way would militate against the Muslim demand for Pakistan, or prejudge it, or denounce it in any way, as seems to be the main effort of the Hindu leaders, it will not only create an unprecedented catastrophe but result in grave disaster at this critical juncture of the war and war efforts, apart from the fact that it will constitute a gross breach of faith with Muslim India."

Continuing the Quaid-e-Azam said: "Muslim India has made its position clear by the resolution of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee at Nagpur on December 27, 1941.

"With regard to the immediate issue, *viz.*, the prosecution of war and war efforts, the Muslim League has from the very beginning been ready and willing, without prejudice to the major political issues, to shoulder the burden of the defence of the country, singly or in co-operation with other parties, on the basis that real share and responsibility is given to Muslim India in the authority of governments at the Centre and the Provinces, within the framework of the present existing constitution. But so far no serious heed has been paid to this policy of the All-India Muslim League by the British Government.

Congress Tactics

"My attention has been drawn to the Congress resolutions, passed recently at Bardoli, and it is very difficult for me to understand what those resolutions really mean, except, as

I understand, that they have not moved by a hair's breadth from the original demand for an immediate unconditional declaration of India's independence and freedom with the right of the people to frame their own constitution through a constituent assembly, to be elected by means of adult franchise on the basis of a united and democratic India. This clearly means setting up of the Hindu Raj, which Muslim India will never accept.

"Muslim India is fighting and struggling for survival and for its right to self-determination, whereas Congress and other Hindu organisations are speeding to establish supremacy and domination over the Muslims as an All-India minority by establishing one central government over the whole of India, and thus to dominate control even those zones where the Muslims are in a solid majority and interfere even in their internal affairs by virtue of the vital powers which must remain vested in the central government, such as Defence, Communications, Customs and Finance and various other executive and administrative powers."

The Dawn, January 11, 1942.

501

Appeal to make the League Session a Success. Bombay, January 18, 1942

The next annual session of the All-India Muslim League will be held at Allahabad during the forthcoming Easter holidays. In this connection the following Press statement has been issued by Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah:

"By the resolution of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, dated the 27th of October 1941, I was empowered to fix the date and place for the next Annual sessions of the All India Muslim League. I had received various invitations and proposals

for the Sessions from different Provinces and finally, after full consideration, I have accepted the invitation of the U.P. Provincial Muslim League inviting the League to hold its next sessions at Allahabad during the forthcoming Easter holidays.

"I am confident that all classes of Mussalmans throughout the United Province and specially of Allahabad will do their utmost to make this session successful by supporting the Provincial Muslim League and the organisers whole — heartedly.

"I am extremely thankful to the Working Committee of the U.P. Provincial Muslim League and the prominent Muslim League leaders in Allahabad for their cordial and enthusiastic invitation. I wish them all success.

"The exact dates of the sessions will be announced later in consultation with the organisers."

The Dawn, January 25, 1942.

502

Speech at the flag-hoisting Ceremony, Calcutta, February 12, 1942.

"When we say that we want Pakistan, when we say that we want our own governments in those zones where we have our own homelands and where we are in a majority, it does not mean in any way injustice or ill-will to the Hindus," declared Mr. M. A. Jinnah, hoisting the League flag at Mohammad Ali Park.

"Up to the present moment," Mr. Jinnah observed, "Muslims were absolutely demoralised. Our blood had become cold, our flesh was not capable of working and the Muslim nation was, for all practical purposes, dead. To-day we find that our blood circulation is improving. Our flesh is getting stronger

and, above all, our mind is getting more clarified."

In spite of the declaration of their claim for Pakistan and own governments in those zones where Muslims were in a majority, Mr. Jinnah pointed out, if the Hindus still thought that their demands meant ill-will to them or they had any designs they were doing a great blunder for which they would have to pay more than the Muslims.

Designs

"On the contrary, it is quite clear, it is clear even to a child, that their machinations, their designs, or their scheming is intended to establish Hindu Raj for the entire sub-continent, and particularly to crush and to keep their Muslim countrymen under their heels. In that they will never succeed and time will show that.

Concluding Mr. Jinnah said, "Bengali Muslims will stand like one man along with the rest of India and the rest of India will stand like one man with Bengal."

The Dawn, February 22, 1942.

503

Interview to the representative of the "Star of India", Calcutta, February 13, 1942.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, declined to say anything regarding the recent Commons and Lords debate and the current developments of the Pacific war when interviewed by the representative of the "*Star of India*";

Upon his attention being drawn to a report published in the local Press that Shyama-Huq Ministry is to appoint 13 whips, Mr. Jinnah replied that he would deal with this topic and

other affairs of the Bengal Government in his presidential speech at the Serajganj Muslim League Conference."

The Star of India, February 13, 1942.

504

Press Interview, Calcutta, February 13, 1942.

"The Muslim League and I have repeatedly made our position clear regarding our attitude towards the prosecution of the war and the defence of our people on the soil on which we live and I have nothing more to add," replied Mr. M. A,. Jinnah, to a question at a Press interview, whether the latest development in the Far Eastern situation did not warrant any change in the attitude of the League towards the war effort.

"The recent resolutions of the Muslim League Working Committee at Nagpur leave no room for any misunderstanding," Mr. Jinnah said and added: "So far as the Muslim League is concerned, nothing new has happened and no developments have taken place which require any further statement from me."

Marshal's Visit

Referring to Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek's visit he said that with regard to the Generalissimo, he received a message from the Viceroy, through the Governor of Bombay on February 10 when he was about to start for Calcutta in order to attend the Bengal Muslim League Conference at Serajganj which was fixed to take place on February 14 and 15. The message sent by the Governor of Bombay ran as follows:

"I have been given to understand that His Excellency Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek would value an opportunity to meet you during his stay in Delhi where he will be for the next

five or six days. I hope it may be possible for this meeting to take place."

Mr. Jinnah immediately sent his reply to the Viceroy's message that, much as he would like to have the opportunity and the pleasure of meeting the Generalissimo, it was impossible for him to change his programme which was fixed long ago and which would cause enormous inconvenience not only to thousands all along the route and during his stay in Calcutta, but the conference itself of which he had the honour to be elected president, as it would not be able to proceed without him.

Mr. Jinnah had further stated in his reply to the Viceroy that if His Excellency the Generalissimo's stay was prolonged in Delhi he would be returning to Delhi for the meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League there and would be very happy to meet him if he was still there. In the meantime, he conveyed the good wishes of Muslim India to the distinguished visitor.

Mr. Jinnah had received no further communication on the matter.

The Dawn, February 22, 1942.

505

Message to the Muslims of Bengal, Calcutta, February 13, 1942.

"My message to the Muslims of Bengal is that they should stand absolutely solid and united under the banner of the All-India Muslim League and follow the policy of the Muslim League fanatically, if necessary, or else they are doomed." Thus observed Mr. Jinnah in his message to the Muslims of Bengal.

The Quaid-e-Azam said: They must not trust or believe

traitors, quislings and fifth columnists, who are capable of any amount of unscrupulous and untruthful propaganda for their own selfish purposes. Muslim India, from one end to the other of this sub-continent, is behind Bengal and Muslims all over India are not prepared to fall into this sinister plea of foreign Muslims in Bengal. Do not be misled that Bengal Muslims can stand alone on their own legs without their whole-heartedly joining the rest of Muslim India.

"If any province is going to gain what the Muslims have lost and have suffered for the last 200 years, Bengal stands to gain the most for which the rest of the Muslims are prepared to suffer and sacrifice where they are in a majority. Next it is the Punjab that is going to benefit most.

"It is these zones, the north-west and eastern zones, which are our homelands and where we are in a majority, where we want to live as free men and establish our governments with a complete guarantee of security of the minorities.

"We have no quarrel with the Hindus. It is the Hindus who are obsessed with the idea that they are the rightful successors and heirs of the British raj and that they will dominate not only in those parts of the sub-continent where Muslims are in a minority, but even where they are in a majority. Hence, all the time they are resorting to machinations of various kinds under the guise of establishing a national government or united and democratic India.

"Muslim India will never accept any central government, unitary, federal or any other type, where the arithmetical calculations and counting of heads will decide the fate of a hundred millions of Muslims. This will never happen, and time will show that."

The Star of India, February 13, 1942 &
The Dawn, February 22, 1942.

506

Speech at the opening session of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League Conference, Serajganj, February 14, 1942

"India from one end to the other now echoes and re-echoes the cry of the Muslim Pakistan" said Mr. M. A. Jinnah while addressing a few words to the Special Session of the Provincial League.

"For the last three or four years" added Mr. Jinnah "Pakistan had been their watchword. Their cry for it had not only now reached the farthest corner of this sub-continent, but had also reached people in the other hemisphere of the world. With it they had also to make it quite clear that no Government, unitary or federal, would be established on this soil of theirs without their tacit approval. They quite understand the difficulty of the various leaders of the country in accepting their demand for Pakistan. "But I give you this definite assurance that I will make them concede to us." (A.P.)

Newspaper Clipping dated February 16, 1942, AFM/KU/QA/Clip 12/pp. 4 & 4-B.

507

Presidential Address delivered by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, at the plenary session of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League Conference, Serajganj, February 15, 1942.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am thankful to you for having honoured me by inviting me to preside over your Provincial Muslim League Conference. I accepted your invitation all the more readily because of the

political developments that have taken place during the recent months. You are in the whirlwind of a political storm in Bengal. I have come here to tell you what I think of the situation.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Muslim League has many opponents. We are going through a life and death struggle. We have made it clear over and over again that we are organising our people and have no quarrel with the Hindus or any other community, large or small, in this subcontinent. We have repeatedly declared that the cardinal principle and aim of the Muslim League is to safeguard the political rights and status of the Mussalmans of India. We have been on the defensive all along. And what have we been wanting? We want to live in this land as free and independent people and not under the raj or the government of anyone else. The arrogance, the hatred and the aggressiveness that is demonstrated by the Hindu leaders that we must live as the minority people, under the domination of the Hindu majority is patent. It is that policy, that programme, that aggressiveness and that offensive and arrogant attitude against which we are fighting. The Muslims in India are a nation.

They will not submit to any position other than that of complete equality with the Hindu community in this country. Now as I have said, we have our opponents. The British Government are no particular friends of the Mussalmans. They have their policy and their programme just as much as the Hindus have theirs and we have ours. In the political world there is neither real justice nor fairplay. Every act and every decision is guided unfortunately by self-interest. We cannot look to the British Government or to anyone else for justice and fairplay. We must stand on our own legs and rely on our own strength if we are to achieve anything in this world. We must be prepared to stand alone and make our sacrifices if we are to achieve equality and then alone we shall be able to achieve and establish Pakistan in this land.

Bengal Horizon

Now let us view the political position of the day. Let us cast our eyes on the horizon of Bengal. Ladies and gentlemen, this wretched Constitution, to begin with, under which your provincial legislature functions to-day, is not of our making. The Constitution in itself is a gross injustice to the thirty-five millions of Muslims living in this province. Of course, it will serve no useful purpose if we blame someone or the other. We have to realise and we have to confess that it is our own fault to a considerable extent that the thirty-five million Muslims in one Muslim State, Bengal, had fallen and fallen to such depths that the voice of Muslim Bengal was dead. In these dreadful conditions, to our shame, the present Constitution was enacted almost *ex parte*, if I may be allowed to say, so far as Muslim India was concerned.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Bengal Legislative Assembly consists of 250 members. Of these you have 122 or 123, including the special constituencies. These figures will demonstrate to you that from the very word "go" we are a minority. How can this minority possibly run a government with a workable and practical majority? A Muslim League ministry cannot be formed that will be stable. For the same reason a Muslim League ministry in the Punjab or even in Sind cannot be formed. Those who are fond of arithmetical calculations misrepresent when they say that in a Muslim majority province they can form a Muslim League ministry.

Land Of Lotus

At the time of the general elections in the year 1936-37, I came to this land of the lotus. I toured Dacca, Mymensingh, Comilla and other places and discovered that Muslim Bengal was practically dead. I found men who were out to exploit the people to gain their own ends; to exploit the people for the purpose of being returned to the legislatures. This was the

condition of Bengal. It was the Muslim League which was admittedly till then an academic body that awakened to the realities of the situation and undertook the duty of organising the Muslims and of contesting the elections. A Provincial Parliamentary Board was established and Muslim League candidates were put up for election. Remember, Bengal is a continent in herself. With our young and poor organisation we captured no less than 66 seats in the Assembly and became the largest single party that was returned to the House. The Krishak-Proja Party contested the election as well. Mr. Fazlul Haq was then the champion of the Projas. His party won some seats. After the elections he conveniently forgot the Projas and others and became, by joining the Muslim League, the leader of the largest party in the Assembly. Not only did he throw over the Projas and the others but he became a member of the Muslim League and preached the creed of the League all over the province keeping in his pocket at the same time the small Proja group.

Former Ministry

Ladies and gentlemen, the ministry that resigned recently was never a Muslim League Ministry; it was only dominantly a Muslim League Ministry. This dominant Muslim League Ministry was in power when we were faced with a new question. You know when the scheme of the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council came to be considered, it was known as the '8th of August offer'. That offer was considered by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League of which Mr. Fazlul Haq was a member. It was unanimously resolved that it be not accepted and the offer was not accepted. The offer was also considered by the Council of the Muslim League and the decision of the Working Committee was endorsed by it. Mr. Fazlul Haq was also a member of the Council. The Council's decision was further confirmed by the session of the All-India Muslim League. Without reference to the President of the All-

India Muslim League, His Excellency the Viceroy decided to expand his Executive Council and to set up the so-called Indian National Defence Council. It was nothing but the very offer the Muslim League had rejected. In the terms of the offer the Muslim League would have been entitled to choose its two representatives on the Executive Council whereas the Governor-General selected and nominated two Muslims on his own. This, you will agree, was adding insult to injury. I ask you, if it was possible for any self-respecting organisation or for any individual with a shred of self-respect to agree to accept such an offer? (No, no, from the audience) Mr. Fazlul Haq accepted nomination on the National Defence Council (shame, shame) secretly without reference to the President and without consulting the Working Committee. When the news was published it was found that there were others also who had accepted such appointment, but be it said to the honour of the others that both Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and Sir Mohammad Saadullah bowed to the decision of the Working Committee and resigned from the Defence Council.

The third Muslim League Premier, a premier that Bengal has produced, I do not know how but it is certainly difficult for any part of the world to produce another like him, wanted time to consider whether he should resign from or remain on the Defence Council. Mr. Haq has a pet game that we all know so well. We know when he plays it. When in difficulty Mr. Haq always either wants time or falls ill.

The Working Committee did not refuse him time because the Working Committee is a sensible, responsible and considerate body. He was given ten days to come to a decision. He was informed that if he did not resign within that time disciplinary action would be taken against him. He decided, after resorting to many tricks which are public property, to resign from the Defence Council but with what grace? You have all read the contents of the letter that he addressed to the Secretary

of the All-India Muslim League on the 8th of September, 1941. He made many vile, undignified, false and unjustified accusations against the President, the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League. Remember, uptill then the Council had not even considered the matter of Mr. Fazlul Haq's action. It was naturally impossible for any self-respecting organisation to permit such libellous and scandalous allegations against its President, the Working Committee and the Council. He went on and on trying to tax the patience of every respectable Muslim in the country and ultimately, you may say, surrendered to the demand of the League in substance if not in form. He requested us, after his reaffirmation of loyalty and assurance that he meant no insult or reflection on the President or any member, to treat the whole incident as closed. The Working Committee in its magnanimity worthy of a great organisation complied with his request and considered the incident as closed. The file had been barely put away when most startling developments took place in Bengal from which it was as patent as daylight that Mr. Fazlul Haq had made exhaustive and elaborate preparations for many months.

The Progressives

He encouraged the formation of a progressive group of a few Muslim members in the Assembly with himself as leader. Remember, ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Haq was at that time a member of the Muslim League, President of the Provincial League, leader of the Muslim League group in the Assembly, leader of the Coalition Party, member of the Council of the All-India Muslim League and member of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee. Further, he started a daily newspaper in Bengali named the *Nava Joog* which boldly displayed the following words, "conducted by Mr. A.K. Fazlul Haq." The policy of this was to abuse the League and all that it stood for!

On the resignation of the last ministry, he went round collecting signatures. I was told that he collected the signatures of 119 members of the assembly and petitioned the Governor to commission him to form a ministry as leader of the 'Progressive Coalition Party,' a party of multifarious and conflicting political and economic interests, a party created over night to destroy Muslim solidarity and to bring confusion in their ranks. I ask you — I have not given you many details — I ask you for your verdict. Is this not the greatest betrayal of not only the Muslim League but the Muslims of Bengal and of the whole of India? Is this not a case of betrayal and treachery to the Coalition Party of which he was the leader for over four and a half years? Yes, it was.

Governor And Crisis

Now let us try and understand the stand taken by His Excellency the Governor in this crisis. Can we believe that the Governor was ignorant of the facts that I have placed before you: that he did not know much more than we did of the actual situation of the time? We have no intelligence department, but the Governor has. The Governor instead of following the course that has been established by convention in the British Parliament to call the leader of the largest single party, called a man who had been conspiring even as the head of the Government of Bengal — a man who was convassing for support with his hat in hand before being commissioned — an act, to my mind, highly improper and derogatory to the honour and prestige of a person who claims to be a leader — a man who had actually petitioned the Governor to commission him to form a ministry. The encouragement of such a practice is, I say with emphasis, unknown to any system of parliamentary government in the world. Signatures are not obtained, most of them at least, for the mere asking. Promises have to be made. Is this not encouraging corrupt practice among your legislators? The Coalition Party having been dissolved, His Excellency should

have called the leader of the largest single party which was unquestionably the Muslim League Party. Its leader Sir Nazimuddin should have been commissioned first. He ought to have been the first man to tell the Governor whether he could or could not form a ministry. Sir Nazimuddin is a responsible leader with a clean reputation. He has held responsible positions long before this constitution came into operation. Since the inauguration of the present constitution until the day that the cabinet designed he had been in charge of the most important portfolio, namely, Home. As I have said, his record is clean, he is a responsible man and has acquitted himself honourably throughout his career. It was for Sir Nazimuddin to decide whether he would accept the commission to form a ministry or not. If he made a mistake and said to His Excellency, "Yes, I will," and had he failed to do so or was defeated by a vote of no-confidence, it would have been the funeral of the League and not the funeral of the Governor. The Governor did not give him an opportunity to face a funeral and commissioned, as I have said a few minutes ago, a person holding in his hand an application over the signatures of 119 members, obtained how, God alone knows! Even this mighty man with his mighty majority could not present to His Excellency with a complete list of ministers. The names were given in instalments. Although he had sufficient time he did not face the legislature with a full list of ministers.

Present Ministry

To-day Bengal has nine ministers. Believe me I shall not be a bit surprised if this nine is expanded to reach astronomical figures in the course of time as and when it suits Mr. Fazlul Haq and as and when he finds power slipping through his fingers. On my arrival in Calcutta another really ingenious and ridiculous decision of the Ministry was flashed in the press. It was stated that the Government were appointing 13 whips (interruptions and shouts: 17, 17). The number was 13 when I reached

Calcutta, in Serajganj the number has risen to 17 and God alone knows how many more will be added to it later! I put it to the Governor if he can quote any parallel in any legislature in any part of the world where 17 whips are required in a House of 250? I ask the Governor if in his own country in a Parliament of over 600 members there are 17 whips?

I do not know how many parliamentary secretaries will be appointed. Let us presume that there will be 17 parliamentary secretaries; then the ministers plus the parliamentary secretaries plus the whips and plus a few more jobs here and there will bring the total about 50 persons who will be kept together by virtue of direct patronage in the legislature. Therefore, out of the 119 Mr. Fazlul Haq has almost 50 who will be there with him just for jobs. This, ladies and gentlemen, is the position of the Ministry that is in power today in the province of Bengal.

Now I come to another important matter, because it vitally concerns the Muslims of the province. The Muslim League Party is in the opposition and is, therefore, so long as the Constitution is in operation, entitled to approach the Muslims and to appeal to their electorate against the misdeeds of the Government in power. We are not interfering with the Hindus at all. We are going to our own people and, surely, are we not entitled to do so? We want to tell the electorate of the treachery of Mr. Fazlul Haq. We want to tell them and prove to them how Mr. Fazlul Haq is doing incalculable harm to the Muslims of Bengal and to the Muslims of the whole of India. We want to tell them the truth and Mr. Fazlul Haq hates this. We want to tell them to call upon representatives they have sent to the legislature to come to their senses. We want to tell them that these men are causing fatal injury to Muslim interests. Surely we cannot be denied this right. In no country where a constitutional form of government is in operation, is this fundamental right denied. Our men are being persecuted and

prosecuted. The penal codes of the country are being wrongly utilised. The Defence of India Act, the use of which is permitted only in certain cases and conditions, is being openly abused. I do not know what to say. Is it the Bengal Government or the Bengal misgovernment that is in the saddle? It is the special responsibility of His Excellency the Governor to see that his ministers do not abuse power and the sooner the Governor acts in the matter the better will it be for the peace of the province. As I have said, every effort is being made to prevent us from appealing to the people. Mr. Fazlul Haq realises more than anyone else in the province that almost 99 per cent of the Bengal Muslims are against him and those who have betrayed the Muslim cause. They dare not face openly and place their case before the people. They want to stop us. We want to tell the truth, they tell the untruth.

They wish to suppress constitutional agitation by abusing the Defence of India Act and other penal laws. Let me say from this platform and I say with full responsibility and without the least hesitation that if His Excellency does not intervene and if this shameful policy is persisted in, there will arise in Bengal such a situation that no power, not even this wretched Government of Bengal, has ever seen. In Bengal will arise a situation for which there is no parallel in her history during the British raj. We shall not be suppressed, oppressed or tyrannised by this wretched Ministry, a Ministry that does not represent the Mussalmans, a Ministry whose Chief Minister and Muslim Ministers do not enjoy Muslim confidence and have completely forfeited it. I also hope that the eyes of the Viceroy will be opened soon to the new situation that has arisen in Bengal.

If any party desires to challenge our assertion that we alone represent the Mussalmans of Bengal let us dissolve the Assembly and go to the polls. Let us go to our people and we shall prove that our claim is not exaggerated but is fully

justified. I considered it my bounden duty to leave my many commitments and to come to Bengal to appeal to the Mussalmans of the province — to tell them that it is in their hands to put matters right. With unity the Mussalmans can achieve everything they desire. To defeat Mr. Haq and his Ministry will be as easy as falling off a log. I was not sure whether Muslim Bengal had grasped and realised the danger of Mr. Haq's move. That is why I came here and I am happy to find that 99 per cent of the Muslims of Bengal are with the Muslim League and they have understood the game. The Muslims of Calcutta and the Muslims assembled from all over the province at Serajganj have proved this. I am sure Muslim Bengal will stand firm and united under this great flag of ours and I am sure we shall win.

The Muslim League does not exist for ministers and ministries. On the other hand, it is the ministers and ministries who can only exist if the Muslim League approves of them. This I want to make clear. We will not allow anyone to exploit the League for the purpose of becoming a minister and to utilise the League as the ladder of his personal ambition. I say again, let it be clear here and now and once for all. Let there be no mistake. We shall not allow men to sneak in and before anyone takes such a step we shall see that he is hurled back.

All-India Issues

Ladies and gentlemen, I have spoken enough on Bengal for to-day. Let me proceed to other important matters. We have got to consider all-India issues as well and I think I shall be failing in my duty if I do not express to you my views. So far as the Congress is concerned I find that in their language and in their tone there is less aggressiveness and less arrogance. In the recent speeches of Mr. Rajagopalacharya I find — I shall not express in my own language but I shall quote his own — it is nice of him to pay me a compliment and I thank him for it:

> "There has been no settlement between the Government and the people and the principal political organisations, over whom such illustrious persons as Mahatma Gandhi and Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah preside. These were not small individuals — one had become as famous as the other and both of them were tremendously popular in the country. Each had a blind following, let it be so; but it was a true following."

Note the words "true following." Mr. Rajagopalacharya admits that your President has a true following. I am proud of it and I am honoured. He goes on to say:

> "Here were, then, two powerful popular organisations of Hindus and Muslims, both at war with the Government and therefore, with all the operations of the Government." These were facts.

This is the first time that one of the foremost leaders of the Congress has had the courage and frankness to admit that the Congress is a Hindu organisation; and has uttered the truth. I appeal to Mr. Gandhi to bow before the truth and to declare that the Congress represents the Hindus and the Muslim League the Muslims of India. Then and only then there is hope for the two communities to meet on terms of equality and on no other terms can they meet.

Pakistan

Now let me proceed to the next point — Pakistan. We have heard many arguments but what do we find in the latest pronouncement of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru who always thinks in terms of internationalism? What does he say? He does not repeat the wretched arguments that his colleagues and most of the other Hindu leaders have been repeating *ad nauseum*. He does not think in terms of India. For him India does not exist. Let me read to you an extract of his speech as reported in the

press on the 2nd of this month.

He wondered how the Muslim League talk of partitioning India and forming a separate Muslim bloc, when some Islamic countries, which were separate Muslim blocs, had lost their freedom. Those who talked of such partition had closed their eyes and ears to the happenings in the world and had refused to take lessons from the war. He also wondered how a Muslim bloc in India could stand by itself, when in the present day world big nations could not stand alone.

All that I can say to Mr. Nehru is to let us look after ourselves and to let us see whether we can stand by ourselves. May I know from him how the whole of India can stand alone when in the present-day world big nations have not been able to stand alone?

Controversy

Now I shall deal with the controversy that is still going on with regard to the existing and the future constitution of India. The practical issue of immediate importance which is being emphasized is what is to be done immediately. With regard to this I shall briefly tell you how the matters stand to-day. On the one hand, the British Government are holding fast and tight to the August offer. The declaration of the 8th August consists of two parts. One part is the declaration of His Majesty's policy with regard to the future constitution of India. The other part is that of the Indianisation of the Viceroy's Executive Council in the interim period by associating the major political parties by getting them to send their representatives to the Executive Council of the Governor-General. Now, when it came to a concrete offer and you know what that offer was, the Congress definitely and clearly declared that they were not prepared to be party to any changes at the centre or in the provinces, so long as these changes were within the frame-work of the existing Constitution. They rejected the basic principle

underlying this proposal of His Majesty's Government.

There are, however, other Hindu organisations, namely, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Liberal Federation, the Non-Party Conference, now called the Sapru Conference. All these Hindu organisations are one and the same. They masquerade under different names but patrol and reconnoiter on behalf of the Congress.

So far as the British Government are concerned up till to-day they stand by the August proposals. Beyond this they will not go. The Congress have rejected these proposals. Our position is that we have accepted them in principle, but when it comes to putting the proposals into practice, they whittle it down to such an extent that no decent self-respecting organisation can accept it. Our position is, and this we have declared more than once, that we must get a real share not only in the centre but also in the provinces.

The Congress to-day unquestionably represents the solid body of Hindu opinion in India and if this body does not accept the basic principle of the August offer, how can the next step be taken so far as they are concerned? Let them first accept this and prepare the meeting-ground and then there will be room and necessity for our sitting together to devise a happy solution. We shall then say what we want and they can say what they want.

In conclusion, I say to the Muslims of Bengal to stand firm, united and consolidated under the banner of the Muslim League. Prepare yourselves, Muslims of Bengal, and I assure you that victory will be yours. Let us declare that no amount of suppression, oppression, persecution and prosecution will frighten us, or will make us deviate from our resolve and our goal.

I take this opportunity of giving the authorities and

those in power to-day, fair warning that if they persist in the prosecution of the policy that they have adopted in the recent months against the Muslim League in Bengal, they will be creating a situation not only in Bengal but also in rest of India for which there will be no parallel in history. Let them know that we are not merely talking but that we shall resist coercion. I warn them not to force the issue upon us for, if they do, they will rue the day."

The Dawn, March 1, 1942.

508

Statement after meeting Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek, Calcutta, February 17, 1942.

"I can only tell you this much, that I had a very pleasant talk and His Excellency the Generalissimo very earnestly and sincerely pressed his invitation to me to go to China whenever I can and that I shall be welcome there," said Mr. Jinnah to a representative of the *Associated Press* on his return from Government House. The meeting lasted for over an hour.

"The Generalissimo said," added Mr. Jinnah, "that he was not here to take any hand in the solution of the political problems of India because he did not know anything about them. He was, as a student, very anxious to study and understand the political situation in India. He was very anxious to know the constitution of the League and about the League organisation and requested me to send him all the literature of the League and he will study and try to understand the Muslim point of view."

His Excellency the Generalissimo told Mr. Jinnah that

he would like to meet him again and Mr. Jinnah informed the Generalissimo that he would be in Calcutta until February 19. (A.P.)

The Dawn, February 22, 1942

509

Statement in reply to Marshall Chiang Kai-Shek's statement, New Delhi, February 22, 1942.

"I had the honour of meating Marshal Chiang Kai-shek. He frankly told me that he knew nothing of political problems. In his message he, however, has advised the British Government to give real political power and freedom to India. Muslim India is not lagging behind any other community in its desire for freedom of all the people of India. But India is composed of a constellation of nations and it is not one nation State, its two major nations being Hindus and Muslims. Apart from that, one-third of India is under the Indian Princes who are outside British India and are sovereign States in relation to the paramount power of Great Britain.

"It is, therefore, unfortunate tht the Marshal should have indulged in generalities without understanding the political situation in India and the constitutional adjustments which are necessary. I am afraid he is saturated with the ideas of those who surrounded him most while he was in India, and it is a pity that he should have without careful study expressed his views which may be exploited to the detriment of Muslim India.

"While Muslim India yields to none in its desire to achieve freedom for all the peoples of India, it cannot accept the machinations of those who speak in the name of freedom for Hindu India only and not for the Muslims. We want our Hindu

brethren to be free but at the same time we do not want to be ruled by them. We also want to be free.

"The problem of problems is, what is the way which will secure the freedom of these two nations who inhabit this sub-continent of India. We have repeatedly made it clear from the very beginning of the outbreak of this war that it is the duty of everyone to resist the aggressor and defend India. But we cannot agree to any scheme which is sought to secure Hindu rule in place of British raj. We have also made it clear that while we are ready and willing that the Hindu India should be free and self-governing wherever they are in majority, so also the Muslim India should be free and self-governing in north-west and eastern zones of this sub-continent in which we are in overwhelming majority.

"From an objective point of view, to use the words of the Marshal, we should ask the British Government to declare immediately agreeing to the Pakistan scheme and create conditions in this country whereby they could justly claim the co-operaton of both these great nations, without any scheme of manoeuvring of a constitution which would bring Muslim India under the heels of Hindu India. The difficulty upto the present is created by the leaders of Hindu India who are manoeuvring to bring Muslim India under the heels of Hindu raj.

"There is no difference on the point with regard to freedom of the peoples of India, but we desire that both the Hindu and Muslim nations should be free equally in their respective homelands and zones. Any other attempt at this juncture on the part of the British Government, which will militate directly or indirectly against the Pakistan demand of Muslim India, will lead to the gravest disaster in India at this critical moment."

The Dawn, March 1, 1942

510

Statement in reply to Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya's speech reported in "The Hindu", (Madras), New Delhi, February 23, 1942.

"If Mr. Rajagopalacharya gets the authority and sanction of the Congress, which he has not at present, and defines some basis, some common ground, and then finds the Muslim League taking an impossible attitude, then it may lie in his mouth to accuse us," declared Mr. Jinnah in a statement.

The Quaid-e-Azam refers to the report of a speech of Mr. Rajagopalacharya published in Friday's newspapers containing references to Mr. Jinnah's recent address to the Bengal Muslim League Conference held at Serajagang. He adds that in his speech at Serajganj he quoted an extract from Mr. Rajagopalacharya's speech delivered at Iambaram and reproduced in the *Hindu* of January 22.

"The extract, which I quote again, will speak for itself. According to the report, Mr. Rajagopalacharya said that there had been no settlement between the Government and the principal political organisations over whom such illustrious persons as Mahatma Gandhi and Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah presided. These were not small individuals — one had become almost as famous as the other and both of them were tremendously popular in the country. Each had a blind following, let it be so; but it was a true following. Here were, then, two powerful, popular organisations of Hindus and Muslims, both at war with the Government and, therefore, with all the operations of the Government."

The Quaid-e-Azam continued. "I think it is most unjust on the part of Mr. Rajagopalacharya to accuse me of obstructing and refusing to come to a settlement with the Congress. The Congress has not budged an inch from its original position and

the demand for an immediate declaration of complete independence for India with power to the people to frame their own constitution through a constituent assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise, and it has repeatedly rejected the basis of any settlement within the frame-work of the present constitution. It is not fair to me or the League that in order to satisfy some questioner at a public meeting. Mr. Rajagopalacharya should have made the statement as he has done." (A.P.)

The Dawn, March 1, 1942.

511

Message to the Annual Session of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation to be held at Rawalpindi on March 7 and 8, New Delhi, February 27, 1942.

"I assure you that my heart is with you and that I am doing my bit for the uplfit of the Musslamans and for the cause that is dear to us all. I hope that you will also continue to do the good work that you all are doing.

"I have no doubt that under the presidentship of Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman and with the presence of all the other leaders that will no doubt assemble there, your Annual Session will be a great success.

"We have to a great extent to free our people from the most undesirable reactionary elements. We have in no small degree removed the unwholesome influence and fear of a certain section who used to pass off as Maulanas and Maulvis. We have made efforts to take our women with us in our struggle and in many places that I visited they took enormous interest and particiated in various functions and gatherings. We have to carry

on and maintain the policy and the programme of the All-India Muslim League on a political plan.

"Within five years we have succeeded in organising Mussalmans all over India as they never were at any time during the last century and a half. They have now been galvanised and awakened in a manner which has astounded and staggered our opponents. Mussalmans have shaken off torpor and shed their miserable state of despair and demoralistion into which they were sunk so deep. They are beginning to realise that they are a power. They possess the strength, the potentialities of which they have not yet realised, and if only they will take their affairs in their own hands and stand together united there is no power that can resist their will.

"Apart from the political programme, the urgent and the immediate need for us is to take steps and put into effect the economic, social and educational programme which was laid down by the Resolution of the All-India Muslim League at Lucknow. It is the economic and social uplift and the education of the people that constitute the true foundation of a nation or a community. I would, therefore, urge most strenuously upon leaders of various provinces and the Provincial and the District Leagues that they should immediately take up various matters which will go to make a solid contribution towards the economic and social uplift of our people.

"My appeal to the Musalmans once again is: Don't depend upon any body: You must depend upon your own inherent strength and the Mussalmans have not yet realised what power and strength they possess if they were properly mobilised as one solid people. We have to go through a great deal of spade work and suffering. Our opponents will use all possible means of suppression. They may practise tyranny and may persecute us; but I am confident that we shall emerge out of that ordeal, purer, better and stronger than we have ever been.

"I will now say a word to Muslim students and Muslim youth. Remember that you have to take the reins of what is being done to-day in your hands to-morrow. Have you, therefore, trained yourself, disciplined yourself and equiped yourself enough to shoulder the responsibilities that will fall on you? If not go ahead and do it to-day. This is the proper time and I wish you every success."

QAP-F-769/pp.419-421 &
The Dawn, March 8, 1942.

512

Released to the press Cable sent to the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, New Delhi, March 6, 1942.

"The Muslim League Party of the Central Legislature views with grave alarm and apprehension reports that His Majesty's Government and the British Parliament may be stampeded into making a pronouncement or adopting a scheme interim within the framework of the present constitution or future regarding constitutional changes and impresses upon His Majesty's Government through you that no declaration be made which will prejudice or militate in any way against the Muslim demand for Pakistan as only solution of India's future constitutional problem and that the Sapru scheme should not be accepted because highly detrimental to Muslim interest and no other scheme be adopted or constitutional change made without the consent and approval of the Muslim League." (A.P.I.)

The Star of India, March 7, 1942.

513

Statement regarding Mr. Churchill's announcement, New Delhi, March 11, 1942.

With regard to Mr. Churchill's announcement Mr. Jinnah said:

"I cannot possibly give any opinion anticipating the decision of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League a meeting of which is being called as soon as possible to consider the situation and the announcement." (Reuter)

The Star of India, March 12, 1942.

514

Statement in reply to Mr. Gandhi's appeal regarding an article published in the "Dawn," New Delhi, March 11, 1942.

"My attention has been drawn to an article written by Mr. Gandhi in the issue of *Harijan* dated the 8th of March, and reproduced in the press and broadcast throughout the country the following day under the caption: "An appeal to Quaid-e-Azam".

"I would not have entered into any controversy but for an express press appeal to me by Mr. Gandhi and secondly for the fact that his article is calculated to poison the Hindu mind against the Muslim League and myself.

"In the first instance Mr. Gandhi has taken out only a few sentences from the entire article on which basis he has chosen to comment. The original article, I believe, was written by a Hindu and published in the *Sunday Observer* of Madras, which is a paper edited and managed by the Non-Brahmins and is their organ in Southern India. The article in question was a comment on Mr. Gandhi's recent convocation address at

Benares regarding certain observations he made, emphasizing catholicity as the heritage of Hinduism." Of course, the language is not as precise and polished as Mr. Gandhi is capable of writing, but the reproduction of only a passage torn from its context is misleading. Any intelligent man can understand that the writer does not mean to attack the Hindu religion or Hindu faith as such, but a system and the existing construction of the Hindu society, which are allowed to pass off as having the sanction of the Hindu religion. The writer deprecates and condemns such a social order and the tyranny of the caste system, and the following passages will make that point quite clear to any intelligent man. I will, therefore, draw Mr. Gandhi's attention to other passages.

Born Unequal

> "All are equal in the eyes of God of other religions, but under the squint-eyed Hinduism men are born unequal and should live as unequals. The *panchama* or the 'untouchable', cannot aspire to heavenly bliss by himself, whatever penance he may do. If he serves the priestly class well and truly, he will get promotions to the higher class in the next birth — he will be born a Sudra! If he does better service to the community which God has chosen as His power-of-attorney agents on earth, he gets promoted to the Vaishva class, then to the Kshatriya, and finally to the caste which stands at the threshold of divinity."

Then the writer proceeds:

> "Mr. Gandhi refers to the 'catholicity' of this monstrosity. Surely the religion which treats millions of people as untouchable (Sudras), which considers the shadow of the 'low caste' man as perdition, which discourages inter-dining and inter-marriage among the four castes comprising the Hindu society, must be

described by some other adjective than 'catholic.' Even in the temple of the gods there are places assigned in the order of inferiority for the Hindu castes: and the depressed classes, on whose unfortunate head Mr. Gandhi inflicted the new name of 'Harijan', have to stand far beyond the other gateway. "What a catholicism!"

Culture Of Stone

Then the writer says:

"We hear such men talk of the glory of Hindu culture and grandeur of Hindu civilisation. The test of greatness is not the culture of stone and pillar and paint and pomp but the culture of humanity, the culture of equality. Caste system and untouchability are the negation of equality. They are synonymous for intolerance and injustice and only a man who is dead to all the finer instincts of humanity and civilisation can call a religion based on domination and exploitation as a heritage."

Reading the whole article, therefore, it is quite clear that the writer is condemning the social system and the usages and customs that have crept in the Hindu society which Mr. Gandhi himself has done very often and in no unmistakable terms. Of course, I would not venture to define Hinduism in the sense of Hindu faith an religion. Mr. Gandhi is in a better position to do so. I do maintain that the article is certainly not an attack on Hindu faith and Hindu religion.

Anti-democratic

Similarly, Dr. Ambedkar issued a statement on the 25th of February, 1942, which runs as follows :

"The Congress cannot expect any sane person who knows anything about the conditions in India to agree to

the government of country being placed in the hands of the Hindu majority, simply because it is a majority. The Congress chooses to forget that Hinduism is a political ideology of the same character as the Fascist or Nazi ideology and is thoroughly anti-democratic. If it is let loose – which is what Hindu majority means – it will prove a menace to the growth of others who are outside Hinduism and are opposed to Hinduism. This is not the point of view of Muslims alone. It is also the point of view of the depressed classes and also of the non-Brahmins."

"This statement was printed and broadcast through all the Hindu and British-edited papers. But none of them has been taken to task by Mr. Gandhi yet, as far as I know.

Remote

"Mr. Gandhi has reproduced only certain passages, which he considered material, out of the entire context of the article reproduced by the *Dawn*, has used it to have a fling at Pakistan and makes an unwarranted attack. He says: 'What will be the state of Hindus under the Pakistan? Will they be suppressed as barbarians?' How remote are these questions from the incident of the *Dawn* having reproduced this article! Yet my answer to Mr. Gandhi is, and I have repeatedly said it in my public utterances, that in Pakistan the Hindus and other communities following different faiths and belonging to different creeds will be treated, in the first instance, on the basis of equality of mankind. Islam enjoins us to treat our fellow men as equals. The Hindus and other communities in Pakistan will be treated with justice and fairplay – nay, with generosity. That is the view of every responsible Mussalman and, what is more, it is so enjoined upon us by the highest authority – the Quran and the Prophet.

Vilification

"For Mr. Gandhi, the professed champion of truth and liberty of speech, to pick up this incident and to imagine, as he does, to quote his own words, that 'the policy adopted in this paper must lead to the promotion of bitterness and strife between the two communities.' is really killing a fly with a wheel. I would like Mr. Gandhi to study more carefully the Hindu papers and the organised Hindu press which misrepresent and vilify not only me but the Muslim League and the Mussalmans daily.

I am thankful to Mr. Gandhi for having admitted in the end of his article that in my speeches I have often repeated that we have no quarrel with the Hindus as a community and that we want to live at peace with them. Our quarrel is with the leadership and the policy and programme which is being preached by the Hindu leaders. I join him in pleading, therefore, for a "juster estimate of men and things."

The Dawn, March 15, 1942.

515

Appeal for Funds, New Delhi, March 21, 1942

"You know the world is in a great turmoil. The conflagration of the war, which started in Europe, has enveloped the two hemispheres and its flames have now reached the gates and borders of India. The face of the world is being changed rapidly and like every nation we must be prepared to meet the grave dangers threatening our very existence. We must, therefore, be fully prepared to deal with all exigencies and critical situations that may arise or develop from time to time, with courage, calmness, self-reliance and fortitude.

"The renaissance of Indian Muslims began about five years ago under the banner of the All-India Muslim League; and Muslim India, thank God, is no longer in a paralytic state and has, at last, roused itself from the deadly slumber and shaken off the lethargy of decades. In this short period we have, I am glad to say, made big strides, but you must realise that we are still far away from being efficiently and fully organised to be able to reach our destination. We have yet to achieve and accomplish our goal of Pakistan.

"So far we have not raised any general funds and have managed somehow or other with the meagre means at our disposal. This is the first time that I am making an appeal seriously and solemnly for funds, as I feel that the time has come when it is no longer possible to carry on the administration at home and propaganda abroad of this growing and powerful organisation that we have built up with hardly any money.

"I, therefore, most earnestly appeal to every Mussalman, rich or poor, to contribute his or her mite to the funds of the All-India Muslim League, so that we may all the more effectively carry out the aims and objects and policy and programme of the Muslim League which may enable us to fulfil our sacred mission of safeguarding the interests of Muslim India and establishing Pakistan in our homelands in the north-west and eastern zones of India.

"I have thought very carefully over the different ways of collecting funds and, after due consideration, I have come to the conclusion that the best course for those who wish to help us is to send their contributions direct to me for the purpose mentioned above.

"I cannot impress too strongly upon the Mussalmans of India that the present is the most critical time in our history and if we are not well-equipped, vigilant or active, there might be a

setback for us from which we may never recover. I am confident that my appeal will not fail.

"Islam expects every Mussalman to do his duty by his people and by his nation."

QAP-F 1022/pp.33-36 &
The Dawn, March 22, 1942

516

Speech at a Public Meeting on Pakistan Day, Delhi, March 23, 1942.

Addressing the meeting Mr. Jinnah said, "I can say without fear of contradiction that the Muslim League stands more firmly for the freedom and independence of this country than any other party. We are asking for justice and fairplay. We have no designs upon our sister communities. We want to live in this land as a free and independent nation. We are not a minority but a nation.

Referring to the mission of Sir Stafford Cripps in India, he advised the Mussalmans to keep patience till the proposal of His Majesty's Government was put forward before them. He assured his audience that if the proposal or scheme was detrimental to Muslim interests, we shall not only not accept it but resist it to the utmost of our capacity; if we have to die in the attempt we shall die fighting. He warned the Government against any attempt to suppress the Muslim League or create disruption among their ranks.

Continuing, Mr. Jinnah said: "It is a libel and calumny to say that we want to support British imperialism. Those who say so, know it that it is untrue. I have never accepted the idea in the whole of my life that we should be under any foreign

domination in this country.

At the outset, Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah expressed satisfaction on the presentation of a purse containing Rs.4,000 to him by some hide merchants in response to his appeal for funds.

Referring to the visit of Sir Stafford Cripps, Mr. Jinnah said: "There is the fear that he is a friend of the Congress. He has enjoyed the hospitality of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at Anand Bhawan. That is all true but we should not be afraid on that score. Don't get cold feet. He made it clear that Sir Stafford Cripps had come to India not in his personal capacity but as representative of the British Government. He, therefore, advised the Mussalmans to keep patience till the proposal, the offer or the scheme of His Majesty's Government which Sir Stafford had brought with him, was put forward before them. He assured his audience that if this scheme or proposal was detrimental to Muslim interests they would never accept it. He warned the Government against an attempt to suppress the Muslim League or create disruption among their ranks.

Righteous Cause

Continuing, Mr. Jinnah quoted from Sir Stafford Cripps' statement before the press conference wherein he had emphasised the necessity of meeting the deep anxieties which exist among the Muslims and other communities and remarked: I want to make it clear that we have nothing to fear. We know that our cause is a righteous one. We are asking for justice and fairplay. We have no designs upon our sister communities. We want to live in this land as a free and independent nation. We are not a minority, but a nation. We do not want to embarrass the British Government because we know the real situation. But we are not going to give help as camp-followers to the Government. We do not want that after they have won the war, they should sit on our chest. We have not accepted that position and we will not accept that.

Mr. Jinnah said: "I can say without fear of contradiction that the Muslim League stands more firmly for the freedom and independence of this country than any other community. Reverting to Sir Stafford Cripps' mission, be said: We must wait and reverse our judgment until we know what conclusion Sir Stafford Cripps reaches, and what constitutes the just and final proposals of the British Government.

"We are prepared to face all consequences if any scheme or solution which is detrimental to the interest of Muslims is forced upon us. We shall not only not accept it but resist it to the utmost of our capacity. If we have to die in the attempt we shall die fighting. If any other machinations and intrigues are resorted to, whether by the Hindu leadership or by the British leadership, singly or in combination, we shall resist it till we are all dead.

"There is an attempt made to disrupt the Muslim League by Muslim agents of the Congress and Muslim agents of the British. There are the creatures who are in the Congress and supporting British imperialism. Somehow or other they get publicity in the Hindu press. I cannot accept a Muslim who is in the camp of the enemy and who is stabbing us from there.

"It is a futile attempt, even farcial, to create differences and disruption among the Muslims and the Muslim League. You have shown to the world that the Muslim League is the only authoritative organisation of the Muslims."

The Dawn, March 29, 1942.

517

Message to the Editor "Bedari"
Aligarh, New Delhi, March 30, 1942.

"I am glad to learn from your letter that you are going to

publish a special number of "*Bedari*" on the occasion of "Sir Syed Day." I wish your venture every success.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was indeed a great man. He left behind him an example worthy enough to be followed by every Mussalman. In fact he has become a tradition of untiring work and energetic zeal.

Muslim India is greatly indebted to him. He will live, for ever, in the heart of every Mussalman as a symbol of sincerity and devotion to the cause of his nation and as the founder of the institution of the Aligarh Muslim University. He still lives as a precursor of the great Muslim movement in India. We feel the force of his character even to-day."

QAP-F-773/p.8

518

Appeal to the electors of Natore to vote for the League's candidate, New Delhi, March 30, 1942.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League has issued the following statement to the Press:-

The Muslim League is fighting for the establishment of the rights of Muslim of India to live as an independent and free Nation. Muslims can achieve this goal only if they stand solidly and unitedly under the banner of the All-India Muslim League, their only authoritative political organisation.

Enemies of the Muslim Nation are creating factions and are setting up some Muslim henchmen to frustrate our demand for Pakistan. It is therefore imperative that every Muslim should exert himself to the last to see that the Muslim League candidate at Natore is returned to the Bengal Assembly by an overwhelming majority and thereby demonstrate to the world

that the Muslims of Natore stand side by side with their brother Muslims all over India in their fight for the achievement of Pakistan.

I therefore appeal to the Muslims in general and the electors of Natore in particular to support and vote solidly for Kazi Abul Masood who is the Muslim League candidate, selected by the Bengal Provincial Muslim League.

The Star of India, April 1, 1942.

519

Speech at a Press Conference, Allahabad, April 3, 1942.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah at a conference announced that the Working Committee of the Muslim League will meet formally on April 4.

"We are giving our most careful consideration and examining the draft declaration of the proposals of His Majesty's Government" said Mr. Jinnah when enquired whether the Working Committee had come to any definite conclusion regarding the Cripps proposals.

He added: "We have not yet come to any conclusion but we hope before the session is over and by the time I return to Delhi I may be in a position to give our reply to Sir Stafford Cripps." He declined to say anything further about the proposals.

Harmful Propaganda

He said: "A lot of propaganda is going on in the press. We do not wish to adopt the attitude of negotiating through the medium of the press. A great deal of harm is done by the opening of the flood gates in certain sections of newspapers and statements issued by some of the leaders in the press."

"Sir Stafford Cripps is a trained politician" he continued, "and is the authorised Ambassador of His Majesty's Government here and he has also been holding press conferences and giving explanations which are construed differently in different quarters, and they might prove harmful."

He concluded "in view of these happenings I shall be compelled 'to explain' to my people in my speech which is going to be my presidential address at the annual session of the All-India Muslim League on April 4 when I shall deliver my address."

Asked if he meant that he would interpret the proposals Mr. Jinnah replied that he had used the world "to explain."

Final Decision

In reply to a question whether the Working Committee would reach a final decision at Allahabad, Mr. Jinnah, said it was not possible to say, as the discussions were going on.

Mr. Jinnah said that he would certainly meet Sir Stafford Cripps again when goes back to Delhi. He said in reply to a question that it would be highly improper to release to the press before he conveyed the final decision to Sir Stafford Cripps. (A.P.I.)

The Star of India, April 4, 1942.

520

Inaugural Speech at the twenty ninth session of the All-India Muslim League, Allahabad, April 3, 1942.

"The United Provinces," he said, "not only in the history of Islam but also of the Muslim League had given them the lead and the foundation of the League was laid at Lucknow. It was

significant that at this critical time this province had invited the League to hold its annual session at Allahabad.

Critical Time

"There never was a time so critical for the Muslims," said Mr. Jinnah, "during the last 200 years but for the last three or four years they had striven and now reached the stage when neither the English nor the Hindus could dominate them. "I only want to say that the key is in your hand. If we Muslims under this Muslim League flag and from this platform put forward any scheme and back it unitedly no power can reject it. I am sure with your help we shall attain our object."

He quoted the proverb "*Delhi door ast.*" (Delhi is still distant) and said "but we shall reach our destination. So, get ready, strengthen the League, increase your organisation and better your conditions."

Mr. Jinnah declared that to-day the Muslim League was not an organisation of hundreds or thousands but of crores.

Our Goal

Referring to Sir Stafford Cripps Mr. Jinnah said that he had come to India on behalf of His Majesty's Government and that his proposals had been published in the papers. The Working Committee of the Muslim League, he said, were considering them. "What the Committee will decide no one knows but one thing I want to announce in clear words. Rest assured that our aim is Pakistan and whatever the proposals might be, if they are such that we cannot achieve Pakistan we will never accept them. There may be shortcomings in the Proposals — and there are many — but our firm determination and our only goal is one — Pakistan — Pakistan — Pakistan."

Mr. Jinnah added: "Now it is not a question of their giving it (Pakistan) but we will take it.".. "This voice was being

raised throughout India and in every language. In Bengal, in Bombay, or in Madras whether it is a Tamil, Telugu, Gujarati or Punjabi, Urdu or Pushto there is only one cry from every corner of India – 'Pakistan Zindabad.'

"This is our decision and there can be no change in it.'

False Propaganda

Proceeding, Mr. Jinnah said that it would be wholly false to say that the Muslim League was not a representative body of Muslims but of capitalists, Nawabs and title holders and were mere office-seekers. He said that false propaganda was being carried on, for example, he said that Momin brothers in one day from four millions had became fifty five millions.* The British had accepted it. But others are dishonouring themselves and misleading others. Mr. Jinnah said he would challenge them to take a plebiscite of Mussalmans. In conclusion Mr. Jinnah emphasised his confidence in their ability to achieve their objective.

Mr. Jinnah, before he sat down, announced that he would be delivering his main address next morning in English. He spoke in clear emphatic tones (in Urdu).

The Star of India, April 4, 1942 &
The Dawn, April 12, 1942

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* Sheikh M. Zahiruddin, President and Mr. Abdul Qayyum of the All-India Momin Conference, on March 3, 1942 sent the following cable to Mr. Churchill, Sir Stafford Crips and Mr. Amery:- "The All-India Conference representing over 45,000,000 Moslems of the Momin (Ansar) community repudiates Mr. Jinnah's leadership as also the Muslim League's claim to possess the sole right to speak on behalf of Indian Muslims and supports the demand for immediate recognition of India's freedom."

521

Presidential Address at the 29th Annual Session of the All India Muslim League, Allahabad, April 4, 1942.

Ladies and gentlemen: "I thank you very sincerely for the great reception that you gave me at the station. I am proud to see that every month, every year, the Muslim League is going forward by leaps and bounds. I also thank the All-India Muslim League that they have honoured me by electing me as President for this year. I congratulate all the workers and office-bearers who have toiled and worked from day to day for the last three months in making all the preparations that we see here. Let me tell you that as we are growing in our strength, we are growing in our power of organising and managing our affairs better and better every day.

"Now I wish to tell you and want to pick up the thread since we met at Madras last year in our annual session. At Madras we defined our policy, we defined our ideology, we defined our programme, and I appeal to everyone of you kindly to read that speech of mine again and study it – not only study it but I appeal to everyone of you that you should make some beginning in one direction or other with regard to the programme and the policy that we have laid down. I do not want to go on repeating things. There was a time when it was necessary to repeat things to make our people and those who opposed us understand us. The propaganda of the League and the literature and the meetings and conferences that are being held throughout India, our press and even our opponents' press have enlightened us now as to what the real issues are before us.

Less Talk, More Work

"Now let us talk less and work more. Not only that; but the grave international situation and the war that is now on our very borders and almost at our gates – that must force us to

realise how grave the danger is in front of us and we do not know what is going to happen.

But, ladies and gentlemen, I must earnestly appeal to you. Mussalmans, organise yourselves to meet all eventualities whatever may happen. These are obvious truths that I am telling you and I really don't think that now I should go on labouring the point because, in my judgment, to pick up the analogy, you are no longer infants but you have reached the age of discretion, and can act accordingly. On that point I shall say no more.

The Cripps' Mission

"I know that the uppermost subject which is to-day not only engaging the attention of all India but is also engaging the attention of the whole world, is the mission of Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of His Majesty's Government. You have been following it from day to day. Now I want to tell you as far as it is possible for me, and explain to you as shortly as I can this draft declaration of proposals. Mark the words that it is a *draft* declaration. These are *proposals* which have emanated from His Majesty's Government and they have come to the conclusion that they are 'just and final.' Let us examine them and let us understand them. I am not going into details; I am going to pick up the main points.

"The main points that emerge from this document are; first, the object is the creation of a new Indian Union which shall constitute a dominion associated with the United Kingdom and other dominions by common allegiance to the Crown but equal to them in every respect and in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic or external affairs. Here there may be some doubts as to the functions and the powers. There are three things – first status, then comes power and finally functions. But that is a matter which will have to be considered when we come to the signing of a treaty or treaties with one dominion or two dominions or more.

"The next point that emerges is this. Immediately upon the cessation of hostilities steps shall be taken to set up in India in the manner described hereafter an elected body charged with the task of framing a new constitution for India. So we shall have an elected body charged with the task of framing a new constitution. I shall deal with it when I come to the clause which lays down how that constitution-making body will be set up and how it will be composed.

Third, there is a provision for the fortification of the Indian States.

Fourth, His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the constitution so framed. But subject to this there are exceptions.

"The first exception is the right of any British Indian province that is not prepared to accept the new constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decides. That is to say, the constitution-making body when it completes the framing of the constitution and when that constitution, so framed, emerges from the deliberations of the constitution-making body which will be, remember, a sovereign body, then it would be open for any province or provinces to say, 'We are not in agreement with this constitution, and, therefore, we are not prepared to accede to this constitution.' But the most vital point and the most important of all the points, so far as we are concerned particularly, is as to how that province or provinces will express their will and exercise their right. But that is not in the document. But a suggestion has been thrown out by Sir Stafford Cripps and the suggestion is that if a province, in the Legislative Assembly of the province, is in favour of accession by sixty per cent votes, then it will be an end of it. It means that the province is bound to accede. But if they get fifty-nine per cent votes and the minority happens to be forty one per cent then there will be

a plebiscite of the people of the province. Then, if course, the non-acceding provinces can, among themselves, by the same process, form another Union or a dominion or any single province may stand by itself as a dominion. That is the corollary.

"Then comes the provision for treaty – the treaty or treaties which will have to be signed and made with the dominion or dominions that may be set up as well as with the Indian States acceding or not acceding.

"I told you that I would refer to the actual clauses of the proposals and how the constitution-making body will be set up or formed, and the provision is this. Immediately upon the end of hostilities the constitution-making body shall be composed as follows, unless leaders of the principal communities agree to some other machinery before the end of the hostilities. So at the end of the hostilities the constitution-making body will be composed by this method: "Immediately upon the results being known of the provincial elections which would be necessary at the end of the hostilities, the entire membership of the lower Houses of all provincial legislatures shall as a single electoral college proceed to elect the constitution-making body by the system of proportional representation. This new body shall be in number about one-tenth of the number of the electoral colleges." Therefore, I think, you understand that all the members of the Assemblies of eleven provinces will meet together as one single electoral college and they will be roughly sixteen hundred members and they will be entitled to elect one-tenth, which means, in all, one hundred and sixty members by means of proportional representation. That is the constitution-making body.

"After that we come to the Indian States who will be invited to send their representatives and number will be according to their population. But how they will be chosen it is not mentioned at all in this document – whether by nomination

or some method of election. Now, gentlemen, this is the document so far as the future is concerned.

"But then there is a provision for the present also and that provision is this. While during the critical period which now faces India and until the new constitution can be framed, His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the full responsibility for the defence of India; they desire and invite the effective and immediate participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations. Thus they will be enabled to give their active and constructive help in the discharge of task which is vital and essential for the future freedom of India. The important words, ladies and gentlemen, are that the responsibility for the defence of India will be that of His Majesty' Government and the leaders of the principal sections of Indian people will be invited in the counsels of their country.

"This was the original wording but later on it was modified in this way: "During the critical period which now faces India and until the new constitution might be framed, His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain the control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world war effort." But this is a change in the wording.

"The task of organising to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the people of India. Then they say that His Majesty's Government desire "to invite the effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections in the counsels of their country.

What The Document Means

"Now, ladies and gentlemen, that is the document and

let me put it in a few words what it means and how I understand it. It means, whatever may be the constitutional implications of the status and the powers of the dominion or the dominions that may be set up, the main objective is the creation of a new Indian Union. We start with that. For that purposes a constitution-making body will be set up which will be the sovereign body. "A sovereign body will start" – to use the language of Sir Stafford Cripp –"with a preference for an All-India Union."

"Think what will be the composition of that body. The composition of that body would be that first of all it will be elected from amongst the members of the eleven Assemblies meeting together as one college and by means of proportional representation, not separate electorates. When that body is formed I cannot conceive how they can come to any other conclusion except the Union: and that is why it is so composed.

"But after the constitution-making body has framed its constitution by a bare majority, it is true that any single province or provinces who do not approve of that constitution are given a chance to go through another test which I shall explain hereafter. But remember that, at the most Mussalmans, even by separate electorate, will not be more than 25 per cent; but by the system of proportional representation they might be less in number in the constitution-making body. So the overwhelming majority will be non-Muslim and, therefore, the probabilities are contemplated that the constitution may by a majority be in favour of only one Union.

"The other point which is not there is: Will the decision of this constitution-making body be taken by a bare majority or not? Reading that document, as I do, clearly it cannot be anything else, because it is the accepted rule of every document that when we want to lay down a specific majority we state so. If you do not state so, then it means the rule of a bare majority. For instance in our own constitution we have the clause that our

constitution cannot be changed except by a majority of two-thirds. So that is the constitution-making body. If I may comment on this a little Mr. Gandhi will come to this constitution making body with a dead certainty of getting a constitution which will emerge for an All-India Union.

"Now when that is done, the province or provinces which would feel unhappy are given the consolation – 'No, no, you have yet another chance before you are killed.' And what is that chance? The chance is this – and it is not in the document but a suggestion of Sir Stafford Cripps (of course, various suggestions have been made; we shall also make our suggestions when the time comes; but at present he has made a suggestion.) He says, 'Look here, if forty-one per cent are against it then a plebiscite.' Whose plebiscite? Of course, the plebiscite of the province.

"Whose self-determination do you want to ascertain? Self-determination of the two nations put together or one nation alone? The answer is, of course, of both together.

"That is another chance, and if you get the plebiscite in your favour then, at least, you will escape the slaughter-house before our *qurbani* is made. This is the point of the most vital character so far as Muslim India is concerned.

Recognition Of Principles Of Pakistan And Muslim Self-determination

"Then with regard to the present, gentlemen, I can tell you nothing except what is contained in this document, because it entirely depends on as to what will be the final picture and I cannot throw any light on it. I have explained to you, and I hope correctly, and if I am not correct I shall certainly stand corrected by Sir Stafford Cripps or anybody else. After explaining the draft declaration of the proposals I think I am echoing your feelings

when I say that the Mussalmans feel deeply disappointed that the entity and integrity of the Muslim nation has not been expressly recognised.

"Any attempt to solve the problem of India by the process of evading the real issues and by over-emphasizing the territorial entity of the provinces which are mere accidents of British policy and administrative divisions is fundamentally wrong. Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the right of national self-determination is unequivocally recognised.

"It must be realised that India was never a country or a nation. India's problem is international in this sub-continent and differences — cultural, social, political and economic — are so fundamental that they cannot be covered up, concealed or confused, but must be handled by all as realists.

"The alleged power of the minority in the matter of secession suggested in the document is illusory, as Hindu India will dominate the decision in favour of one All-India Union in all the provinces and the Muslims in Bengal and the Punjab will be at the mercy of the Hindu minority in those provinces who will exert themselves to the fullest extent and length for keeping the Mussalmans tied to the chariot wheel of Hindudom. Thus the Mussalmans will be doomed to subjection in all the provinces.

"We cannot barter away with our consent the future for the present while fully realising the danger of foreign aggression and notwithstanding all our anxieties to defend India and to help the prosecution of war. To do so will be a crime on our part to posterity and generations of hundreds of millions of Muslims to come.

"As regards the proposals relating to the immediate adjustments in the central and provincial governments which we are told must be considered within the frame-work of the

existing constitution, it is difficult to gather from the document anything definite and concrete; for it must necessarily depend upon the full picture when it is disclosed and it is not known to us, nor is it before us yet. The document is a bare skeleton of the proposals and obviously requires a lot of filling in and adjusting before it can be made acceptable and it is one of those cases where the details will become more vital than the bare statement of certain principles.

"It has roused our deepest anxieties and grave apprehensions specially with reference to the Pakistan scheme which is a matter of life and death for Muslim India. We will, therefore, endeavour that the principle of Pakistan which finds only veiled recognition in the document, should be conceded in unequivocal terms and until we know how the right of Mussalmans to keep out or accede thereto is defined to our satisfaction. We do not wish to see that the history of Palestine should be repeated as it was after the last war after we have paid for the promises in blood, money and material.

"The document shows that Pakistan is treated as a remote possibility and there is a definite preference for a new Indian Union which is the main objective and suggestion and the rules of procedure and the process indicated in the document and the interviews and explanations of Sir Stafford Cripps so far are against us and we are called upon to play the game with loaded dice.

"Our Working Committee is engaged, as you know, since the 27th of March in the task of a most careful and searching examination of these proposals: I trust that in order to give real effect to the principles of Pakistan and Muslim self-determination His Majesty's Government and Sir Stafford Cripps will not hesitate to make the necessary adjustments on their behalf. Let us hope that there will emerge out of these negotiations a settlement that will be just, honourable and

finally acceptable to all."

"All India Muslim League, Allahabad Session, April 1942, Presidential Address by Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah," Printed and Published by S. Shamsul Hassan, Assistant Secreteary, All India Muslim League at Muslim League Printing Press, Daryaganj, Delhi, 1945. pp.1-12. & The Dawn, April 12, 1942.

522

Speech at a tea-party given in his honour by the Journalists' Association, Allahabad, April 5, 1942.

" I agree that there is a very wide difference to-day especially between the Hindus and the Muslims, but I have expressed many times that whatever differences there are, they do not, from my side, arise from the slightest ill-will against the great community of the Hindus or any other community," said Mr. M. A. Jinnah, addressing the Journalists' Association, Allahabad, this evening at a tea given by the Association in his honour.

Mr. Jinnah said he had no hesitation in saying that - so far as the Press was concerned especially the News Agency Press, he had been invariably treated fairly and generously. Of course, the party papers were at liberty to carry on various controversies. He very much appreciated, indeed, the goodwill of the Press and he hoped that the relationship between him and the Press would always remain, cordial and friendly and that they would co-operate with each other for whatever be the good cause that was being sought. it was only by examining and analysing things and putting them before the public that some of

the controversial questions could be really seen in their proper prospective.

Confident

Mr. Jinnah observed: "I agree that there is a very wide difference to-day especially between the Hindus and the Muslims. Whether you are here Hindus, Muslims, Parsis or Christians, all I can say to you is this, that, however much I am criticised, however, much I am attacked and to-day I am charged with hate in some quarters – let me tell you and this I tell you most sincerely – that I believe and I honestly believe that the day will come when not only Muslims but this great community of Hindus will also bless, if not during my lifetime, after I am dead, the memory of my name. I have expressed many times that whatever differences there are, they do not, from my side, arise from the slightest ill-will against the great community of Hindus or any other community. We may not see eye-to-eye today, but I can only give you one example to illustrate. The first man that went into the street with an umbrella was laughed at and was snobbed by the crowd, because they had never seen the umbrella before in their lives.

I Carry Umbrella

"I am carrying an umbrella. You may laugh at me, but time will come sooner than you realise that you will all not only understand what the Umbrella is but you will use it to the advantage of everyone of you."

Mr. Jinnah said that there were many instances in history of men who started with unbeaten tracks being ridiculed, laughed at, suppressed, misrepresented and treated with contempt and one such instance that they knew of was the case of Disraeli. Another instance that they knew of was Chamberlain. When Chamberlain started with his umbrella of tariff and protection, what happened to him? He had to cross the

floor of the House and he sat as a single man. His son succeeded him and adopted the very policy of protection and tariff with the unanimous vote of Parliament.

Mr. Jinnah hoped that he would see during his life time and if he did not see perhaps he had no son to succeed him – one who succeeded to the ideal for which he was fighting, which was in the best interest of everyone would see that it was an accomplished fact. (A.P.I.).

The Star of India, April 6, 1942.

523

Statement on Cripp's Proposals at a Press Conference, New Delhi, April 13, 1942.

The Congress claim of representing the whole of India was effectively repudiated and totally exposed by Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah at a press conference.

Explaining why the Muslim League had to reject His Majesty's Government's proposals, brought by Sir Stafford Cripps, Mr. Jinnah said: "The proposals of his Majesty's Government were in their fundamentals not subject to modification. I was told that they should be accepted in *toto* but not in parts. His Majesty's Government had not authorised Sir Stafford Cripps to consider any alternative either for the present or the future. Regarding the immediate present, it was not open to us to suggest any alternative as we had to accept the proposals as a whole or not at all. We could not, therefore, discard the future and deal with the present. In effect, Pakistan was not conceded unequivocally and the right of Muslim self-determination was denied. We, therefore, did not accept the

proposals regarding the future.

Referring to the recent statement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru he said: "I find that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in talking to press correspondents still speaks of the Congress as representing India and speaking on behalf of India. There is no foundation for that assertion. Muslim India has repudiated that claim. We maintain that the Congress does not represent not only the Mussalmans of India but even a large body of the Hindus, the Depressed Classes, the non-Brahmins and other minorities.

Referring to the Cripps proposals Mr. Jinnah said: "The proposals of His Majesty's Government were in their fundamentals not subject to modification. Therefore, after clarification by Sir Satfford Cripps, the Muslim League examined them carefully. I was told that they should be accepted in *toto* but not in parts. We could not, therefore, discard the future and deal with the present. Further, that the immediate present could only be considered if the future was agreed upon and that his Majesty's Government had not authorised Sir stafford Cripps to consider any alternative either for the present or the future. That being the position, we examined the whole of the proposal as one document and came to the conclusion that, as regards the future, the principle of partition (Pakistan) was not conceded, but there was possibility for a province or provinces to stand out. The machinery provided for that purpose was such that we came to the conclusion that in two Muslim majority provinces the rules of procedure laid down were such that the fate of ninety million Mussalmans would be decided by a few votes in the provincial legislatures where the Muslims are, as in Bengal and the Punjab, in a minority in this legislature – these being the major Muslim provinces. Similarly, in the Muslim majority provinces, N.W.F.P. and Sind, the weightage given to non-Muslims would make it extremely difficult for the Mussalmans to realise their goal. In effect Pakistan was not

conceded unequivocally and the right of Muslim self-determination was denied. We, therefore, did not accept the proposals regarding the future, although we recongnised that the same may constitute the foundations of British policy as a historic document.

The recognition given to the principle of partition, however, was very much appreciated by Muslim India.

Present

"Regarding the immediate present, it was not open to us to suggest any alternatives, as we had to accept the proposal as a whole or not at all. Having decided on the future we thought no useful purpose would be served in discussing the present and further we thought that until the complete picture was available it was not possible for us to deal with it. Details with regard to the present were of vital importance, and in this case they were more important than the principles themselves. No discussion, however, took place between me and Sir Stafford Cripps regarding the present period, except that details would be worked out and settled by the Viceroy with the parties concerned.

"I now gather from the maze of correspondence and statements that have been issued that the Congress leaders alleged that Sir Stafford Cripps was discussing with them alternative proposals of theirs, which fact has been denied by Sir Stafford Cripps. I have no knowledge of what took place between, Sir Stafford and the Congress, but I may add that if alternative proposals of the Congress were accepted – immediate freedom and independence of India, cabinet to be nominated by major parties with collective responsibility, the Viceroy to act as constitutional Governor-General and the Secretary of State and His Majesty's Government having no power to interfere – it would have meant the setting up of a cabinet, irremovable and responsible to nobody but the majority, which would be at the

command of the Congress in the cabinet. If such an adjustment had been arrived at, then it would have been a 'Fascist Grand Council' and the Muslims and other minorities would have been entirely at the mercy of the Congress raj.

"Then to say that the future would be considered after war is to my mind absurd, because there would be nothing left of the future to discuss, except details.

Congress Game

"We stand for freedom and independence, yielding to none in that respect, but the Congress scheme will not bring freedom and independence for the Mussalmans and other minorities of India who will be at the entire mercy of the caucus cabinet. Therefore, we hold that the Congress proposals are shortcircuiting the paramount and vital issues in the name of national government. This has been the beginning and that is what we have been resisting.

"The Congress recognised that the cabinet formed under its scheme would be a composite cabinet formed from different groups, representing various ideologies in the country, some coming from the Congress, some from the Hindu Mahasabha, the Muslim League and the Sikhs. I have noted that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made it quite clear when he said that suppose in a cabinet of fifteen there was Congress majority of eight or nine. Added to that Congress majority would be the Hindu Mahasabha and the Sikhs, and the Muslims would be left in a negligible, ineffective minority. The only consolation that Pandit Nehru offered was that if the Mussalmans did not agree they could resign. If this is not a foregone conclusion of the tyranny of the majority, what else could it be?

"I am also surprised to read Pandit Nehru's statement that I would not have objected to the Congress demand for national government. I assert that if the Congress demand had

been accepted it would have been the death-knell to the Mussalmans of India.

Concluding, Mr. Jinnah said that the Congress carried on negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps over the head of all other parties whom it utterly ignored.

Questions

Q. Then what is the position of the League?

A. If all parties agree to the Muslim demand for Pakistan or partition and Muslim right of self-determination, details to be settled after the war, then we are prepared to come to any reasonable adjustment with regard to the present.

So far as the Pakistan demand is not agreed to, we cannot agree to any present adjustment which will in any way militate against or prejudge the Pakistan demand.

The demand of the Congress, as explained by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to the press conference as disclosed in the correspondence with Sir Stafford Cripps, does definitely prejudge and militate against the Pakistan demand and is, therefore, unacceptable to us.

Q. Then, is it not for the leaders to meet and discuss the matter?

A. It is for the leaders to devise means of doing so.

The Dawn, April 19, 1942.

524

Press statement regarding Civil Defence Committee, New Delhi, April 17, 1942.

"In pursuance of the Resolution passed by the Sessions of the All-India Muslim League at Allahabad on the 6th of April

1942, authorising me to appoint a committee for the purpose of taking all necessary and effective steps for the protection of life, honour and property of the Mussalmans, I have appointed a committee consisting of Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan (Chairman), Sir Nazimuddin, Chaudhry Khalilq-uz-Zaman and Qazi Mohammad Isa.

The committee will start work forthwith and get into touch with the provincial organisations of the various Provinces and undertake an extensive tour of the country, and after acquainting themselves with the local conditions, concert measures with a view to maintain peace and tranquillity in the face of grave danger to the country and render all assistance to the suffering and the helpless.

I appeal to every Mussalman, man or woman, to extend the fullest co-operation and help to this Civil Defence Committee of the All-India Muslim League to enable it to discharge its duties effectively."

The Dawn, April 19, 1942.

525

Statement regarding withdrawal of Correspondents from his Press Conference, New Delhi, April 17, 1942.

With reference to his recent Press Conference Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President, All-India Muslim League, has made the following statement.

"The account of the Press Conference from which some of the representatives of newspapers and news agencies, withdrew is not quite full and correct. I did not invite the Press Association as such. On the contrary when it was suggested that

I should accept the invitation of the Press Association to a tea party where the Press Conference also may take place I said that while I shall consider it an honour to be the guest of the Press Association I did not want a social function to be mixed up with a Press Conference which should be a purely business proposition and I therefore, suggested to one of the representatives of the Press who had approached me that I shall be very glad to see the representatives of the various newspapers and news agencies as such, but it seems that the representative of the *Hindustan Times* was also informed to come to the conference.

"The position with regard to the *Hindustan Times* is as follows:- This paper published the proceedings of the Working Committee which was holding it's discussions 'in camera' and what is more the account was a garbled version, misleading and in parts entirely untrue. The Secretary of the All India Muslim League, therefore, wrote a letter complaining and pointing out that it was inaccurate and contradicting the correctness of it. The letter was not even acknowledged by the *Hindustan Times*, and certainly the correction of the contradiction in one letter was published.

"Having regard to this conduct on the part of the *Hindustan Times* it was decided by the Muslim League that in future representatives of the *Hindustan Times* should not be allowed Press privilege and, so to say, the pass was withdrawn. As that was the position, I could not very well act against that and pointed out that without meaning any disrespect to the representative of the *Hindustan Times* who was present I could not allow him to the conference as, after all, I was meeting Press-representatives as President of the All-India Muslim League. I regret that some of them thought that as he was a member of the Press Association they decided that they should withdraw from the conference. That was not a matter between

me and the Press Association at all." (A.P.I.)

The Star of India, April 18, 1942.

526

Appeal to the rich to contribute to the Muslim National Fund, New Delhi, April 24, 1942.

In a special appeal to the rich to contribute generously to the Muslim National Fund, Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah expresses satisfaction over the good response from the poor and is glad to announce that during the last four weeks alone the contributions have exceeded Rs.66,000.

Mr. Jinnah says: "I am grateful to all classes, particularly the poor, who have been the largest in number to contribute towards the All-India Muslim League Fund in response to may appeal. I have received some few thousands of Money Orders, ranging from two annas upwards.

"I am glad to announce that I have received, during the last four weeks, over 80,000 rupees. But I must emphasise that a great deal more is wanted to carry on our work.

"I specially appeal to the rich and well-to-do people to come forward and contribute their mite in a generous way.

"While thanking the various contributors, who have so readily responded to my appeal, I beg to inform them and the public generally that no formal receipts will be sent to those who have remitted their contributions either by ordinary Money Orders or Telegraphic Money Orders, as they will already have received the counterfoils from the post office to show that their remittances have been duly received. This will save a considerable amount of expense in postage.

"With regard to the Cheques, Drafts and Postal Orders, and also money sent in cash, receipts will be sent to the contributors as soon as possible. A certain amount of delay has been caused owing to the pressure of work."

The Dawn, April 26, 1942.

527

Statement condoling the death of Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon, New Delhi, April 24, 1942.

"Sir Abdoola was one of the strongest pillars of the Muslim League and had rendered great service not only to the Mussalmans of Sind but also to Muslim India as a whole. As a member of the Working Committee of the Muslim League he made very valuable contribution to its deliberations. With his keen business instinct he made himself a very valuable member of the Working Committee. My deepest and sincerest sympathies go out to Lady Haroon, Yousaf Haroon and other members of his family in their bereavement."

528

Released to the Press, messages passed between him and Allama Mashraqi, New Delhi, May 11, 1942.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League has released to the press the following messages, which have passed between him and Allama Mashraqui :-

Telegram from Allama Mashraqi to Mr. Jinnah dated Madras, May 5:

"My telegram 27 unreplied. Can you state minimum conditions for united demand. Do you approve active co-operation of Khaksars with Rajagopalachariar"-Inayatullah.

Telegram from Mr. Jinnah to Allama Mashraqui dated Delhi May 11:

"Your telegram. My appeal to Khaksars is to join and support wholeheartedly League policy at this critical juncture. Not possible to discuss terms of united demand as requested by means of correspondence". Jinnah. (A.P.I.)

The Star of India, May 14, 1942

529

Statement regarding his appeal for funds, New Delhi, May 18, 1942.

In a statement to the Press, Mr. Jinnah said that he had received unexpected support from the poor and middle class Muslims to his appeal for funds. Money orders have been pouring in every day and the total amount collected in less than eight weeks was Rs. 1,75,000. He wanted Rupees ten lakhs and he therefore appealed to the rich and well-to-do Muslims to come forward and respond to his call by contributing handsomely to the funds. (A.P.I.)

The Star of India, May 19, 1942.

530

Interview to the correspondent of International News Service of America, Bombay, May 21, 1942.

"If they had an assured goal to fight for – independent Muslim States in post-war India – and arms with which to fight, 100 million Muslim of India would resist aggression and hurl the enemy out of India with invincible strength"– asserted Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah in an interview with Mr. W.W. Chapman, correspondent of *International News Service* of America.

Appreciating American sympathy to the principle of independence of India Mr. Jinnah said that true independence could come only with separate Muslim States in the north-west and eastern zones of India where Muslims constituted the majority of the population. If Britain yielded to the Congress political blackmail and approved a National State dominated by the Hindus there would be immediate and terrible chaos.

Mr. Jinnah pledged that 100 million Muslims of India will resist Japanese aggression – men, women and children – with tooth and nail. He, however, predicted that such resistance would be ineffective against the armed forces of invader and coupled his pledge with the renewed plea for independent Muslim Stats in post-war India and for arming the Muslim men of military age. He said, if we had such an assured goal to fight for and arms with which to fight we would stand side by side with the British forces and hurl the enemy out of India with invincible strength.

A note of bitterness crept in his voice when discussing the Congress action. He said, "the Congress is engaging in political blackmail, taking advantage of the fact that the terrible enemy is almost at India's door, to attempt to force the British to

agree to the so-called national government in which Muslims would be out-numbered three-to-one and would be ruled by the Hindus as they were now being ruled by the British. Muslims will never agree to such an arrangement. They insist on independence from the British, from the Japanese invaders and from the Hindus. If Britain agreed to the Congress demand and approved a national State dominated by the Hindus there would be immediate and terrible chaos.

Mr. Jinnah said that he appreciated fully American sympathy to the principle of the independence of India but said that true independence can only come by Pakistan with separate Muslim state or States in north-west zone and eastern zone where Muslims are approximately 75 per cent of the population. He said that it is certainly fair; it would give Muslims one-fourth the area of India for their one-fourth of total population. It would leave the Hindus with three-fourths of area comprising the richest part of the country and would give them the most populous country in the world, except China and perhaps Russia. Were I a Hindu leader I would say, "Let us get this chap Jinnah to sign his proposition quick, then we will be a tremendous Hindu country without a minority problem which otherwise prevents national unity always.

Mr. Jinnah charged the Congress with bad faith in putting an organisation forward as representing Muslim as well as Hindu interests. It is entirely to confuse the rest of the world to win sympathy. Maulana Azad is a puppet President who has permitted himself to be used bute who has no power in the Congress which is completely Hindu in thought and action.

He believed that Britain and Hindus eventually will be forced to recognise his plan which was the only practical solution of India's problem. When this happened, he pledged that he would appoint himself champion of small minority of Hindus living in Muslim areas and would insist that the constitution

should accord them full rights. If Hindus do the same to Muslim minority in their three quarters of India, the two countries should live amicably as good neighbours like Canada and the United States, Mexico and North America which no one suggests should be forced under one government merely because people inhabit the same continent.

Hindu three-fourths of India where a policy of non-cooperation and non-violence with enemy is proclaimed includes strategic ports of Madras and Bombay. Muslim population's region, where the people, he said, will fight aggression perfectly with proper arms but lacking that with barehands, includes Karachi, Chittagong and Calcutta which are nearest to Burma where Japanese are massed."

The Dawn, May 24, 1942.

531

Appeal to the Muslim Youth to join the Muslim Natinal Guards Organisation, Bombay, May 28, 1942.

An appeal to the Muslims of Bombay not to give way to panic and a call to Muslims, particularly the Muslim youth to enrol themselves in thousands on the Muslim National Guards organisation to protect their hearths and homes in emergencies, was made by Mr. Jinnah.

The meeting was organised by the Bombay Provincial Muslim League and was very largely attended.

The Quaid-e-Azam said hat considering the vast population of the country whatever Government might do for their safety alone would not be sufficient. They must also do something to safeguard themselves. The civil defence programme was not only against possible enemy action but also

for protecting themselves against possible internal troubles. It was therefore the duty of every Muslim to help brethren.

Pakistan

As regards Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah said that more and more recognition of this claim was now coming forth. He added that even the British Government had now changed its century old policy in regard to the future constitution of India by admitting "dominions instead of dominion" and "unions instead of federation". Mr. C. Rajagopalacharia, who had held a high position for the last 30 years," said the Quaid-e-Azam was now telling a different tale and talking of Pakistan as not "vivisecting India or cutting cow or a baby into two." The Quaid-e-Azam wanted to bring home to Hindus that in Pakistan alone lay the welfare of both the communities."

The Dawn, June 7, 1942.

532

Statement on Mr. Gandhi's 'Big Move', Bombay, June 22, 1942

"I am glad that at last Mr. Gandhi has openly declared that unity and Hindu-Muslim settlement can only come after the achievement of India's independence and has thereby thrown off the cloak that he had worn for the last 22 years. He tried in a consummate manner to fool the Muslims, but at last he has shown himself in his true colours.

"I had held that Mr. Gandhi never wanted to settle the Hindu-Muslim question except on his own terms of Hindu domination. It is he and he alone who has, whenever there was a chance of agreement, by some means or other, dashed our hopes. Now we are presented with a new formula and that formula is 'Quit India'. But after having said that the British

should withdraw, he adds – he always keeps a loophole – "in an orderly manner!"

"Since his first pronouncement he has been engaged in making explanation after explanation. It is quite clear to those who understand Mr. Gandhi's language that he wants the British Government to accept that Congress means India and Gandhi means the Congress and come to terms with him as the spokesman of all India with regard to the transfer of power of the Government to the self-styled Indian National Congress and keep him in power and authority by means of the British bayonet, so that the Hindu Congress raj can dominate over Muslims and other minorities.

"He does not mean to achieve India's independence. He and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru are both indulging in slogans and catchwords. If they can persuade the British Government to withdraw immediately even without Mr. Gandhi's qualification of 'orderly withdrawal' the Muslim League would welcome it. It is a libel to say that the Muslim League is in favour of continuation of British raj in this country.

"Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has made it quite clear that he is not prepared to discuss the issue of Pakistan, nor is he prepared to discuss the communal question in any shape or form 'until India's independence is achieved and foreign authority eliminated.' But he says, 'So far as I am concerned I believe that Congress would willingly meet Mr. Jinnah if that serves the cause we have at heart.' Bu he is not prepared to consider the cause that we have at heart and he says. 'but it would be very much to the point if he discussed the means of achieving independence for India or, to put it differently, the means of eliminating foreign authority from India first' and then other questions will be considered.

"It is no use talking in abstract terms of wanting to achieve India's independence. When you don't mean it, it is no use using catchwords like 'freedom for India,' 'independence,'

'national government,' etc. The sub-continent should be thought of not only in the negative terms of elimination of foreign authority or rule resulting in anarchy and chaos, as Mr. Gandhi promises, but in a definite and positive form of a constitution and the setting up of a government to which the power and authority of the British can be transferred, and that could take the place of foreign authority which Mr. Gandhi wants to end to-day. Such a government would command the confidence and allegiance of the different nationalities and interests that exist in this vast sub-continent.

"So long as this present deception and false propaganda is maintained by the Congress, India's progress will continue in jeopardy. I am told that there is going to be a 'big move'. This threat is intended to coerce a distressed and shaken Britain to accede to Mr. Gandhi's demand. I can only say that Britain will be making the greatest blunder if she surrenders to the Congress in any manner which would be detrimental to the interests of Muslim India.

"We do not know what this 'big move' is going to be. Nothing is going to move us from the set purpose of achieving our goal of Pakistan. When the time comes the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League will decide how to face the new situation if it arises, and I will call a meeting of the Working Committee as soon as the occasion arises." (A.P.)

The Dawn, June 28, 1942.

533

Message to the "Eastern Times" (Lahore), June 28, 1942.

"I wish your venture to turn the Weekly *Eastern Times* into a Daily all success. I hope that you will be able to bring out,

as you intend to, the first issue on the 1st of July, 1942.

"I think the Punjab has shown a great deal of awakening. You have taken up a good cause and a good undertaking and I am sure that the Mussalmans of the Punjab will fully support you. There is a crying need for a Daily in each Province. Let Punjab lead the way.

"Wish you once again every success in your venture."

The Eastern Times, July 1, 1942.

534

Interview to Preston Grover of the Associated Press of America, Bombay, July 1, 1942.

"The only way for Britain to do justice is to hand over the Muslim homelands to the Mussalmans and the Hindu homelands to the Hindus. It is a practicable proposition and will cause the least amount of trouble and friction. Sooner the British give their decision in this regard the better it is for all the parties. The Pakistan scheme of partition of India is just and reasonable both to the Hindus and Mussalmans of India." These views were expressed by Mr. Jinnah in a press interview given to Mr. P.Grover of the Associated Press of America.

He declined any comment on his recent conversation with Mr. Rajagopalacharya, as it was premature to do so.

Mr. Jinnah characterised the proposal of Hindu Congress for the united and democratic government for the whole of India, as one which could and would mean, for all intents and purposes, Hindu raj and Hindu domination over one hundred millions of Mussalmans. If such a constitution is forced upon India by the British, or if they are influenced in that

direction by America, there will ensue immediately a first class disaster in this country. Muslim India will never submit to a unitary or united self-government for all-India taken as one single unit, as that will immediately bring the north-west and eastern zones (the Muslim homelands, where Mussalmans are in a majority) entirely under the yoke of Hindus.

He added: "Muslims are a nation and they insist upon their rights as a nation, separate from the Hindus, and I am confident that if Britain will take courage in both hands and give their decision in favour of partition the Hindus will reconcile themselves within a few months, as obviously it is more favourable to them, for they will have the government of three-fourths of India in their hands while Mussalmans will have only one-fourth of India. But unfortunately their game is that they want the whole which can never be.

"The expressions 'national government,' 'independence' and 'freedom' are merely catchwords and slogans. The Congress has never put forward any concrete form of constitution for the government they wish to set up as an all-India united central government.

Bitter Experience

"We have had enough experience of the provincial constitution for 27 months when the Congress Hindu majority under the constitution of 1935 enjoyed certain legislative, executive and administrative powers, although these provinces were certainly not fully self-governing, as the last and final word rested with the Governor, the Governor-General, the Secretary of State and the Parliament and many safeguards were provided for the minorities, and Britain accepted their statutory obligations to protect the rights and interests of the minorities.

"Notwithstanding this, the Hindu Congress in six provinces during these 27 months made every effort to suppress

the language, customs and culture of the Mussalmans. Even in educational institutions, which were wholly Muslim, the students were compelled to use text-books prescribed by the Hindu Congress Government emphasizing the Hindu culture and traditions and belittling that of the Mussalmans, what little of the Muslim culture they contained. Hundreds of instances can be given of their having trampled upon the elementary rights of Mussalmans.

"The difference between the Hindus and the Muslims is deep-rooted and ineradicable. We are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilisation, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions, in short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of International Law we are a nation.

Readiness To Help

"I stated", Mr. Jinnah said, "from the very commencement of India being declared a belligerent that in our own interest and to defend our homes and hearths we should assist England in the prosecution of war, hearths, provided Great Britain accepted our hand as a confident friend and as equal partner to face the peril, and provided real share in the authority of the Government at the Centre and Provinces was given to us within the framework of the present constitution. But England, so far, has not accepted our hand and is waiting to persuade the Hindu Congress.

"The first proposal was made by the Viceroy in November 1939, which was later improved upon by what is known as the declaration of August, 1940, and lastly Cripps' proposals in April, 1943. England is pining away to satisfy the Hindu Congress but the Hindu Congress demands full twenty shillings in a pound immediately, at the cost of 100 millions of

Mussalmans and other minorities which well-nigh come to another hundred millions. What they want is, I have said, hegemony, supremacy and Hindu domination over all, and that they want to establish with the help and presumably with the ultimate sanction of British bayonets.

"England dare not sacrifice and let down the Mussalmans of India. But at the same time England is marking time and waiting and considering how to satisfy Hindu India. Hindu India, on the other hand, is in a position of being encouraged and its hopes are maintained by constant approach to them with something better every time with the result that they have decided upon a policy of non-co-operation and are holding the sword of Damocles or resorting to civil disobedience, and thus they think they are in a better position at the bargaining counter.

No Obstruction

"We have, so far beyond strongly condemning the policy of the British Government and their blunders in pampering the Congress, not considered it advisable to put obstacles in the prosecution of war or obstruct in any way their progress in that direction, unlike the Congress policy and programme. But if the British, even with the help of America, adopt any measures which militate in any way against our Pakistan demand I am firmly of opinion that it will lead to terrible chaos and disaster, as one hundred millions of India will never forgive the British if they are let down.

"The Congress demand is one which cannot be satisfied within the framework of the present Constitution. It can only be achieved by immediately making fundamental revolutionary changes in the present constitution in order to set up what the Congress conceive to be the 'national government' of a united and democratic India. We are not against any revolutionary changes in the constitution of complete repeal of it in order to

secure our Pakistan scheme: but if the national government of Congress conception is set up; then it automatically not only torpedoes the Pakistan scheme but the question of any kind of partition of India cannot arise thereafter. Therefore the only just course for Britain is to decide in favour of the principle of Pakistan and proceed to frame the constitution accordingly." (A.P.I.)

The Star of India, July 3, 1942 &
The Dawn, July 12, 1942.

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Interview to the Press, Bombay, July 2, 1942.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah in a Press interview here to-day declined to comment on his recent conversations with Mr. Rajagopalachari, declaring that it was premature to do so.

He felt that the only way Britain could do justice was by handing over Muslim homelands to the Muslims and Hindu homelands to the Hindus." This he said, was a practical proposition and would cause the least amount of trouble and friction. The Pakistan scheme was just and reasonable both for Hindus and Muslims.

He characterized the Congress proposal for "a united and democratic government for the whole of India" as one which could and would mean, for all intents and purposes, a Hindu raj and Hindu domination over a hundred million Muslims. If such a Constitution was forced upon India disaster would ensue. Muslim India would never submit to a unitary of united self-government for all-India taken as one single unit, as that would immediately bring the North-Western and Eastern zones

(Muslim homelands where they were in a majority) under the yoke of the Hindus. The Muslims were a nation and they insisted upon their rights as a nation being respected and the speaker felt that if Britain would give her decision in favour of partition, the Hindus would reconcile themselves within a few months, for, obviously, it was more favourable to them, for they would have the Government of three-fourths of India in their hands while the Muslims would have only one-fourth of the country.

Nevertheless, continued Mr. Jinnah, the Hindus wanted all or nothing, which could never be. The expressions "national Government," "independence" and "freedom" were mere catchwords and slogans. The Congress has never put forward any concrete form of Constitution such as they wished to set up as an All-India United Central Government.

In the Provinces

"We have had experience of the provincial constitution for 27 months when the Congress Hindu majority, under the Constitution of 1935, enjoyed certain legislative, executive and administrative powers – although these provinces were certainly not fully self-governing, as the last and final word rested with the Governors, the Governor-General, the Secretary of State and Parliament, and many safeguards were provided for the minorities.

"Notwithstanding this, the Congress in six provinces during these 27 months made every effort to suppress the language, customs and culture of the Muslims. Even in educational institutions which were wholly Muslim, students were compelled to use text books prescribed by the Congress Government emphasizing Hindu culture and traditions and belittling that of the Muslims.

"The difference between the Hindus and Muslims is

deep rooted and ineradicable. We are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language, literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, attitudes and ambitions: in short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of international law we are a nation."

Muslim Attitude

"I stated from the very beginning of the war that India should be declared a belligerent and that, in our own interest and in order to defend our homes and hearths, we should assist Britain in the prosecution of war, provided that Britain accepted our hand as a friend and equal partner to face the dangers and provided a real share in the authority of the Government at the Centre and provinces was given to us within the framework of the present Constitution". But Britain so far had not accepted their offer and was waiting to placade the Congress.

The first constitutional proposal, continued Mr. Jinnah, was made by the Viceroy in November 1939, which was later improved upon by what was known as the declaration of August 1940, and lastly came the Cripps' proposals in April last. Britain was busy in endeavouring to satisfy the Congress, but Congress still demanded a full twenty shillings in the pound at the cost of 100 million Muslims and other minorities who totalled another hundred millions. What the Congress wanted was hegemony, supremacy and domination, and they wanted to establish that with the help and sanction of the British.

Hindu India, Mr. Jinnah maintained, was in a position of being encouraged and its hopes maintained by a constant approach with "something better every time," with the result that they had decided upon a policy of non-co-operation and were holding out the threat of resorting to civil disobedience, thus thinking that they were in a better position at the

bargaining counter.

The Muslims on the other hand had, beyond strongly condemning the policy of the British Government and their blunders in pampering to the Congress, not considered it advisable to put obstacles in the way where the prosecution of the war was concerned. But if the British adopted any measures which militated in any way against the Pakistan demand the Muslims would never forgive them for letting the community down.

"The Congress demand," concluded Mr. Jinnah, "is one which cannot be satisfied within the framework of the present Constitution. It can only be achieved by making revolutionary changes in the present Constitution in order to set up what the Congress conceive to be the national Government of a united and democratic India. We are not against any revolutionary changes in the Constitution or a complete repeal of it immediately in order to secure our Pakistan demand but if the national Government' of Congress conception is set up then it automatically not only torpedoes the Pakistan scheme but the question of any kind of partition of India cannot arise thereafter. Therefore, the only just course for Britain is to decide in favour of the principle of Pakistan and proceed to frame the Constitution accordingly." (A.P.I.)

The Star of India, July 3, 1942.

536

Statement to the Press on Mr. Gandhi's article. 'To Muslim Correspondents' in Harijan, Bombay, July 13, 1942.

"In his article in the *Harijan*, dated July 12, Mr. Gandhi has spread his latest bait that he is open to conviction. He says,

"Have Pakistanists attempted to convert oppositionists in a friendly way?" – Although at the same time he is rattling the sword of launching a big movement – I suppose a mass civil disobedience, asking the British Government to "Quit India" and in the same breath agreeing to let British troops remain in India to defend her! Now let us examine the facts in the light of Mr. Gandhi's writings and those of the Congress.

"Even the remote and veiled recognition of Pakistan in the draft declaration of His Majesty's Government brought to India by Sir Stafford Cripps was characterised by Mr. Gandhi as 'wicked,' and he for one had nothing whatever to do with it. He became more emphatic in the *Harijan* when Mr. Rajagopalacharya was inclined to rely upon his previous articles saying that the Madras leader had misunderstood him and unequivocally declared that Pakistan in his opinion was not only a crime but much worse and amounted to a sin, thus damning anyone who ventured to think in terms of Pakistan not only in this world but also in the next.

"The All-India Congress Committee at Allahabad not only rejected the proposal of Mr. Rajagopalacharya favouring Pakistan, but on the contrary passed a resolution moved by Mr. Jagatnarian Lal, completely turning down any idea of Pakistan and declared itself definitely and emphatically for 'Akhand Hindustan.' What difference remains between the Hindu Mahasabha and the Congress? The Hindu Mahasabha has been openly saying for a considerable time now – "achievement of India's freedom and independence first and communal settlement afterwards," on the basis that mussalmans are a minority amongst other minorities in India and on the fundamental principle of the establishment of 'Akhand Hindustan' and Hindudom. Mr. Gandhi is also revolving on the same pivot. Recently Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made it quite clear that he was not prepared even to discuss the Pakistan scheme and called it a 'mockery.'

Mr. Rajagopalacharya's Sin

"Mr. Rajagopalacharya has committed not only a crime but a sin in favouring the idea of partition, for as a result of his trying to persuade Mr. Gandhi and the Congressmen, in a friendly way, he has been virtually expelled from the organisation. Is Mr. Gandhi really sincere in the light of the above fact hat he is open to conviction, or is it merely one of his new techniques to mislead people?

"In the issue of the *Harijan*, dated July 12, I see that side by side with this article, another one has also appeared in which, while dealing with the Andhra separation, Mr. Gandhi says: "The Andhras do not claim to be a separate nation having nothing in common with the rest of India. Pakistan on the other hand is a demand for carving out of India a portion to be wholly treated as an independent and sovereign State," and yet in the article under discussion he says: " Only the protagonists know what they want and mean. I plead for such an exposition. Nobody has told me all its implications." Surely Mr. Gandhi does not need a better exposition than his own. He has himself put the Muslim demand in a nutshell.

"From the lines of his writings and the way in which his mind is working it seems that no mere mortal can ever succeed in convincing Mr. Gandhi of the rightness of the Muslim demand, except perhaps the 'inner voice' of his Providence!

"The picture that he draws of the result of his movement, his one aim and object being to displace British power from India, means, on his own showing, that there will ensue a rule of the jungle. But he knows that he does not mean that. It is merely a ruse to coerce and embarrass the British Government to surrender to the establishment of the Hindu raj in this sub-continent.

"I cannot imagine how any Indian can visualise with

equanimity the lurid picture which he depicts. And here it is in his own words: "Thus assuming that the British leave, there is no government and no constitution, British or other. Heretofore there is no Central Government. Militarily, the most powerful party may set up its rule and impose it on India if the people submit. Muslims may declare Pakistan and nobody may resist them. Hindus may do likewise."

"I suppose he means to set up Hindudom. He proceeds: "Sikhs may set up their rule in territories inhabited by them. There is no end to the possibilities." Surely this is a manifestation of an angered and a desperate mentality. Is this the best contribution that Mr. Gandhi can make to India in the evening of his life?

Independent India

"Then comes the end of the article when naively he says: "Why should not the Muslims who believe in 'Independent India' join such a struggle? If, on the other hand, they believe in Pakistan through the British aegis, it is a different story. I have no place for it." Mr. Gandhi's conception of "Independent India" is basically different from ours. What we want is the independence of Hindus and Muslims and others. Mr. Gandhi by Independence means Congress raj. We do not believe in Pakistan through the British aid or under the British aegis. Pakistan is an article of faith with Muslim India, and we depend upon nobody except ourselves for the achievement of our goal and Muslim India is ready and willing to face opposition and obstacles form whatever quarter they may come.

"I ask Mr. Gandhi to give up the game of fooling the Mussalmans by insinuating that we depend upon the British for the achievement of our goal of Pakistan. I ask him to drop what he calls "the few Muslim friends," that are still left. Hands off the Muslims and as one of the foremost leaders of Hindu India and as a realist I ask him to show his sincerity and frankness for an

honourable settlement. Mr. Gandhi will have then rendered a great service not only to the two great communities – his own and mine – but also to the millions of the other minorities and interests in this country that are involved."

The Dawn, July 19, 1942.

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Speech in reply to a joint address presented by the Memon Chamber of Commerce and Memon Merchants Association, Bombay, July 22,1942.

Satisfaction at the response shown by the Muslims of India to his appeal for the Muslim League National Fund was expressed by Mr.M.A.Jinnah, replying to the Joint address and a purse of Rs.17,500 presented to him by the Memon Chamber of Commerce and Memon Merchants Association, at a reception at Kaisar Bagh, Dongri, Bombay. A sum of Rs.1,107 contributed by the Muslims of Malegaon was also presented to Mr.Jinnah at the function.

The address assured Mr. Jinnah that whenever and in whatever form a call for sacrifice for achieving their cherished goal of Pakistan came, the Memon Community would never be found wanting.

After expressing his gratefulness for the presentation of the purse Mr.Jinnah said that though during the last five years Muslim India had progressed very far and political consciousness among them had been roused, yet there were still people among them who had not yet understood the grimness of the struggle that was being carried on.

Appeal To Rich

Mr.Jinnah made an appeal to those who were rich to

rise from their slumber. He struck a note of caution to them that they should not think that because they led a comfortable life, it mattered little what they did or did not do. They would suffer more. It was their property that was in danger. They should realise that the value of money was changing and they should not look to their bank accounts.

It was only after five years that they had appealed to the Muslim public for funds and after having proved what an organised effort could do. Since the appeal was made in March last, Mr.Jinnah pointed out that Rs.3,00,000 had ben collected from all over India. When the amount of Rs.10,00,000 appealed for had been collected, Mr.Jinnah said, they would enter into the next phase of their activity.

The Dawn, July 26, 1942.

538

Message to Majlis-e-Ittehad-ul-Muslamin, Chanchol Gora (Hyderabad), Bhopal, July 23, 1942.

"I am glad to learn that the Chanchol Gora Majlis is holding its annual session on July 1. My message to Muslim of Chunchol Gora is: Organise yourself. March with the progress of time. Discipline and unity are essential for the progress of the Nation. Unity of ideal and unity of action are the weapons with which we can defend ourselves. Arm yourself with these weapons and success will be yours."

The Eastern Times, July 25, 1942.

539

Interview to the press, Bhopal, July 23, 1942.

Mr. Jinnah said that the recent resolutions of the Congress Working Committee and the Congress leaders have created a most dangerous and most serious situation in the country. He said that Muslim League must consider these developments as soon as possible.

Mr. Jinnah hoped to convene the meeting of the Working Committee at an early date. Meanwhile he appealed to the Mussalmans to be vigilant and not commit themselves in any way or fall into the net that was spread by the Congress. "Don't involve yourselves," he concluded "in any so-called big move which Congress intends to launch for what it calls freedom and independent India but await the decree of Working Committee, All India Muslim League." (O.P.)

The Eastern Times, July 25, 1942.

540

Speech at the inauguration of Anjuman-i-Islam Haji Jan Muhammad Cassum Commercial High School, Bombay, July 25, 1942.

Mr. Jinnah urged upon the gathering the vital necessity among the Muslims of spreading education, for on education depended the all-round progress of a people or a nation. The Muslim nation, continued Mr. Jinnah, could be vitalised and solidly constructed, if the Muslims wanted, by erecting pillars which would bear the social, economic and political structure of the Muslims.

Mr. Jinnah said that in a moving world, those who stagnated, perished. It was not that they lacked money. What was needed was real, honest and selfless workers. There was nothing the Muslims could not accomplish. There was the Muslim League which had infused the Muslims and done away with the spirit of lethargy.

He appealed to the Muslims to give their generous support to the new institute so that it could expand the scope of its work. Many young Muslims would be benefited by this, as after passing out of the institute they would be equipped for entering a commercial life."

The Eastern Times, July 31, 1942.

541

Statement to Foreign Press
Bombay, July 30, 1942

"The decision of the Congress Working Committee to launch a mass movement if the British do not immediately withdraw from India is the culminating point in the policy and programme of Mr. Gandhi and his Hindu Congress of blackmailing the British and coercing them to concede a system of government and transfer power to that government which would establish a Hindu raj immediately under the aegis of the British bayonet, thereby placing the Muslims and other minorities and interests at the mercy of the Congress raj.

"Mr.Gandhi in order to cajole the British in his first interview with the Viceroy in September 1939, offered unconditional help in the prosecution of the war and almost broke down when he said, 'What is India's freedom worth if England is broken?' When he imagined the bombing of

Westminster Abbey and the Houses of the Parliament he shed crocodile tears. Thereafter he became a Dr.Jekyl and Mr. Hyde in the Congress hierarchy and took shelter under cover that the Working Committee had overruled him. He put forward the fantastic proposals in total disregard of the interests of not only the Muslims but the various minorities in the country and the Indian States. He asked for an immediate declaration of the independence; and freedom of India with the right of the people to frame their own constitution by a constituent assembly chosen by means of adult franchise, which meant 75 per cent of the Hindu majority. He kept on writing that he was a friend of the British people and that there were unbreakable ties between the British people and himself!

"When he failed as a professed friend and adviser to the British he became a coercer. He called upon the members of the Central Assembly to absent themselves from the legislature and in November, 1939, he asked the Congress ministries in seven major Hindu provinces to resign, thereby making the working of the constitution impossible although he and the Congress had agreed to work the constitution under what he called a gentlemen's agreement under the aegis of the British Crown.

New Scheme

"This threat and intimidation and obstructive attitude did not cut much ice with the British Government. Then he hit upon another method based upon the same line of coercion while professing and declaring that he had no desire to embarrass the British Government in the prosecution of the war and that he did not wish to start a mass civil disobedience movement as long as the Muslim League was opposed to it. But under the guise of a slogan — freedom of speech — he resorted to individual *satyagraha* after the August declaration of 1940. He sat at the Sevagram Ashram planning and organising the campaign of what he called individual civil disobedience under

the protection of the British Government and with full freedom and complete immunity from any law operating against him. He sent hundreds, nay thousands, of Congressmen to preach slogans which were intended and calculated to hinder the war effort. They were arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, and after 14 months of this farce when it was about to peter out, he suddenly discovered and the Congress organisation discovered that he had pursued that line of programme under mistaken authority.

Shortly after this arrived Sir Stafford Cripps, and during this time it was the policy of the British Government that clearly encouraged Mr. Gandhi, as all the time the eye of the British Government was centred on the Congress in an effort to humour and placate them. This was done even at the cost of Muslims and other minorities' interests. After the Cripps' proposals were disclosed the Congress and specially Mr. Gandhi could not bear the remotest idea of separation indicated in them, as they had fully expected that the draft declaration would not only rule out any discussion on Pakistan scheme but definitely and clearly denounce it. This is clearly proved by the Allahabad Congress resolution and the subsequent writings of Mr. Gandhi, who considers an indivisible India as an article of faith and talk of any scheme of separation a sin.

"One more proof is that one of the foremost leaders of the Congress who favoured the idea of separation* was expelled from the Congress organisation and several others have also resigned. Hence in his bitterness and deep disappointment Mr. Gandhi has new resorted to his new big move.

Muslim Resolve

"It is quite obvious that the British Government dare not, for two reasons, surrender to Mr. Gandhi's demands: First,

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* Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya

it will be going against the solemn resolve on the part of a hundred million Muslims of India that they stand for Pakistan in India and will never submit to a Hindu raj or any unitary central government of a Hindu majority; secondly, it would be grossest breach of faith with the Muslims if they disregard all their declarations ending with the declaration of August 1940, which was as follows:

"His Majesty's Government, it goes without saying, could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a government."

"It is in these circumstances that he has resorted to the slogan of 'Quit India.' Mr. Gandhi and the Congress know fully well that a disarmed India cannot accomplish this task against an unwilling Britain. I refuse to believe that Mr. Gandhi thinks for a moment that the British would willingly withdraw immediately at his request. And Mr. Gandhi himself admits that if such an event occurs without self-government or any constitution under which any government can be set up; the result must be anarchy and bloodshed.

"Mr. Gandhi cannot believe that immediately the British withdraw that representatives of various parties and interests will at once agree and set up a provisional government for this sub-continent. What is there to prevent them from agreeing now? It is utterly childish to say that no agreement can be arrived at so long as the British are here. But one thing is certain — no agreement can be arrived at on the basis of the terms that Mr. Gandhi dictates to the Muslims and the rest, and no system of government can come into being on those terms without the help of the British bayonet and under the aegis of the British, which task cannot be undertaken by Britain because

it will be highly dishonourable; even if it is undertaken, such a system of government will break within a few months.

"The Muslims have no objection to the British withdrawing from India to-day. What Muslim India fears is that in their distress British may commit the blunder of appeasing the Congress at the cost of Muslim India and other minorities and interests. Mr. Gandhi is leading the Congress and others who may be induced to follow him into disaster and there is yet time for him to halt.

"This is a challenge to the British Government, in the first instance; and they are quite capable of looking after themselves. But it is also a challenge to Muslim India, as Mr. Gandhi has not only negatived their demands but without reference to or consultation with them is launching a movement whose one and only object is by hook or by cook to bring about a situation which will destroy the Pakistan scheme.

"Muslim India cannot remain mere spectator. I am going to call a Working Committee meeting at an early date and shall have to decide what course to adopt to face this danger."(A.P.I.)

The Dawn, August 2, 1942.

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Statement on Congress Working Committee Resolution, Bombay, August 8, 1942

"The recent Congress Working Committee resolution,* although couched in different phrases, is substantially the same as the one which was passed in September, 1939.

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* See Appendix for the text of the resolution adopted by the All-India Congress Committee on 8th August, 1942.

"In the resolution passed in September 1939, the demand was for a declaration of immediate independence and freedom of India, with a provisional government transferring all power of the Government of India, and secondly the right of the people to frame their own constitution through a constituent assembly to be elected by means of adult franchise. The only difference, therefore, between the two resolutions is that in the first what was implied by the declaration that was sought is now covered by the adoption of the slogan, 'Quit India.'

"Muslim India, as I have repeatedly said, stands for the complete independence of all the peoples of India. But we turned down the Congress proposals because the demand for a national government to be set up immediately would have meant Hindu raj or a Hindu majority government.

"As to the second item – the right of the people to frame their own constitution – the constituent assembly would have been one with an overwhelming majority of Hindus, and if it were to be elected on the basis of adult franchise the Muslims would not have secured even 25 per cent of its strength. It is a foregone conclusion what decision such a body would arrive at.

Hindu Majority

"Not only this, but the fundamental principle was also laid down in September, 1939, that the constitution should be on the basis of an all-India federal government with units as autonomous as possible. This clearly meant that even those zones which are the homelands of the Muslims and where they are in a majority would have been entirely under the Central Government with a Hindu majority in all vital matters.

"This position the Muslims would not accept, as it clearly meant ruling out of order their demand for Pakistan and would have implied their submission to a Hindu raj as a national sub-group instead of their being a nation in fact, as they are,

even in those parts of India where they are in a majority of more than 75 per cent, as in the north-west zone, and more than 70 per cent in the eastern zone. In these two zones there are not less than 70,000,000 Muslims. But having ignored these 100,000,000 Muslims and other minorities and interests, the Congress has adopted the programme of mass civil disobedience, if their fantastic demand is not conceded by the British at once.

"Congress leaders have now started foreign propaganda. According to them the Congress is fighting purely from an altruistic point of view and does not wish to have any share in the authority and power of the government; the government of India may be handed over to the Muslim League and they will willingly accept Muslim raj rather than British raj. What is most amazing is the fact that Mr. Gandhi has endorsed such individual utterances.

Too Good

"In the first place no intelligent man can believe the sincerity of such a desire, for it is too good to be true. But if they are sincere, I should welcome it. If the British Government accepts the solemn recommendation of Mr. Gandhi and by an arrangement hands over the government of the country to the Muslim League, I am sure that under Muslim rule non-Muslims would be treated fairly, nay, generously: and further the British will be making full amends to the Muslims by restoring the government of India to them from whom they had taken it. I am sure Muslims would welcome such a decision on the part of the British Government.

"Another bit of propaganda is that the Congress is willing to come to a settlement with the League. Here again the proposal is disingenuous, because it had laid down the basis of settlement to be the unitary federal government, knowing full well that he Muslim League is opposed to such a basis.

"It is evident that the Congress has definitely turned

down any discussion of the Muslim proposal for the partition of India or the Pakistan scheme by the official resolution, passed on May 1, by the A.I.C.C. Pandit Jawaharlal recently made it clear that he would not even discuss the partition scheme and that it was a mockery. I have noticed in the Congress Press the pre-arranged correspondence which passed between a busy-body of a Muslim, who landed in Bombay the other day from Hyderabad, and the Congress President. It leaves no doubt in my mind that they have made most contradictory statements and interpreted the official Congress resolution of May 1, in a manner which is most misleading.

Misleading

"What is one to think when Congress leaders resort to such procedure and give publicity to it in this manner instead of communicating the proposals, if they have any, to me or to the Secretary of the All-India Muslim League? One can only conclude that it is meant for the edification of the public in this country and for propaganda abroad; and for a responsible organisation to resort to this method, if it is in earnest about a settlement, is hardly compatible with its prestige and reputation, unless the intention is to create disruption among the Muslims and to mislead them. I am confident that these things cannot in the slightest degree mislead the Muslims India. They can no longer be treated as children.

"It is very painful to me to expose these tactics, but I have no other means of meeting this sinister propaganda in which the Congress seems to have specialised. I know it is said that some of my statements hurt it, but if speaking the truth, which is always bitter, and exposing the machination of our opponents hurt them, I cannot help it. The only remedy is that they should revise their methods."(A.P.I.)

The Dawn, August 16, 1942.

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Statement on the Congress Movement, Bombay, August 9, 1942.

"I deeply regret that the Congress has finally declared war and has launched a most dangerous mass movement in spite of numerous warnings from various individuals, parties and organisations in this country.

"It is impossible to believe that the Congress leaders do not realise that such a movement will result not only in violence but bloodshed and destruction of innocent lives. It is to be deplored all the more that this movement is launched at this critical juncture with the object of forcing their demands at the point of the bayonet, which, if conceded, will mean sacrifice of all other interests, particularly those of Muslims in India.

"As I have said I have summoned the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League and it will meet on August 16 in Bombay. Until the decision of the Working Committee I appeal to Muslims to keep completely aloof from this movement and not to surrender to the threats and intimidations of the Congress workers but to continue their normal avocations peacefully. I also warn congress workers not to molest or harass the Muslims in order to compel them to carry out their orders. Any attempt to force Muslims will lead to a very grave situation and congress workers will be held responsible for the consequences that may ensue.

"I still appeal to the Hindu public to stop this internecine civil war before it is too late. Peaceful solution is the only way under the conditions in which we are living. I think that responsible Hindu leaders will come forward and stop this reckless and thoughtless programme.

Reply

Referring to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's speech at the meeting of the A-I.C.C. when he said, without disclosing the

source of his information, that he had been informed that Sir Stafford Cripps was told on behalf of the Muslim League that the Viceroy's veto should not be removed or qualified in any way, Mr. Jinnah said: This is absolutely untrue and without any foundation. The rest of his speech is full of mis-statements and I do not wish to repeat what I have already said. He says that the Muslim masses are not reactionary and they are with the Congress, implying thereby that the Muslim League is a reactionary body, which is a libellous accusation against us. But if the masses, as he says, are with the Congress and the resolution of the Working Committee represents the voice of India, why bother about the Muslim League that does not represent the Muslims of India?

"Pt. Nehru says that the Congress is prepared to pay any price (as if India belonged to the Congress) except the price of freedom and their honour. Who suggests that the freedom of the Indian peoples should be bartered away? We are firmly of the opinion that the quickest way to achieve India's freedom is by the acceptance of the Pakistan scheme by agreement. I fail to see how the question of the sacrifice of honour comes in, if Hindu India were to accept the right of 100 million Muslims of India to self-determination instead of forcing them to remain in an artificial and unnatural union with most disastrous and dangerous consequences that must follow if such a course was adopted."

The Dawn, August 16, 1942.

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Special Interview to 'Daily Herald' of London, Bombay, August 13, 1942.

In a special interview to the *Daily Herald* of London Mr. M.A. Jinnah stated. "The Muslim League would join a

provisional war-time government if it had equal voice with Hindus and assurance of Pakistan after the war. It would also consider any suggestion for a solution from any authoritative source.

(Looking across the immaculate lawns to the Bombay sea-front of his beautiful villa, Captain Victor Thompson, war correspondent of the Daily Herald, had a long interview with Mr. Jinnah.

Mr. Thompson says: Mr. Jinnah is as spick and span as his home. His smart grey suit fits his sparse figure perfectly. His ties and socks are gay but impeccable. With his monocle, acquiline face, piercing eyes and smooth grey hair, he looks like a handsome younger brother of George Arliss. He speaks with clarity gained from years at the bar. What he told me in response to my question is faithfully recorded here as an important announcement).

Mr. Jinnah said: "Indian independence? Yes, but first of all the United Nations must win the war otherwise there will be no freedom for anybody. That is what the predominantly Hindu Congress Party refuses to see. Blind to the big danger, Congress leaders have made demands that have left no negotiation. They delivered an ultimatum, backed by threat of mass civil disobedience. The Government, which had bungled and blundered in the past, had no alternative. Here they did the only thing open to them. The Government was faced with what is legally high treason."

Mr. Jinnah fully approved Government's arresting Congress leaders and taking firm measures to quell the riots.

Chance Of Negotiations

Mr. Jinnah proceeded: "Now the Muslim League as well as the Government are being asked to make some concession,

some gesture to open some kind of negotiations. Negotiations with whom? There can be no negotiations until the Congress Party leaders change their minds and drop their campaign. The whole policy of the Congress has been that power must be transferred from British raj to Hindu raj. It says it wants a national government, which means one in which Hindus, because of their preponderance in Central and South India, will have an overwhelming majority. Backed by British bayonets they want to rule hundred million Muslims in north-west and north-east India. But we will not be ruled by Hindus. We have had experience of it in provincial governments. Hindu domination in local affairs has meant persecution for Muslims. They try to force their ideas and culture on us. They try to eliminate our language. They force their text-books on our schools. As officials, they discriminate always in favour of Hindus. No, the gulf between Hindus and Muslims is too great ever to be bridged. How can you get together with people who will not eat under the same roof? Can you? Or let me put it this way: Hindus want to worship the cow while the Muslims want to eat it. Where can there be any compromise? In Hindu shops, proprietors will not take money from Muslim hands. It must be left on the counter and washed before being put in the till. Even a very dirty Hindu will not take water from my hands. Certainly, some Muslims have similar taboos, but Hindus have infinitely more. They even have strict castes among themselves. And so, since there is one way of coming together, the demand of Pakistan, which may be interpreted as partition, is the only way to real Indian independence.

Pakistan When War Is Won

"We want the British Government to declare now that Pakistan will be introduced when the war is won. Our aim is that those areas where Muslims vastly outnumber Hindus shall become a separate Dominion or even Dominions. After all, India never was under one rule until the British came. There are more

divisions in India than there are in Europe. So we want to rule ourselves and let them rule themselves. There would still be minority problems on both sides, of course. But they would be small and manageable and would gradually peter out. Victory must come first, however."

The Eastern Times, August 18, 1942.

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Declaration that he would himself be the first to court imprisonment in the freedom struggle, Bombay, August 16, 1942.

A declaration that he would himself lead the movement for India's Independence and be the first to court imprisonment along with Mahatama Gandhi in the freedom struggle if the Congress arrives at an immediate settlement with the Muslim League thereby achieving a lasting Hindu - Muslim Unity, was made by Mr. M.A. Jinnah to a Bombay Congress Leader in the course of a discussion on the present political situation in the country.

Mr. Jinnah reiterated that the Muslim League was for immediate Independence but the Congress stood in the way. He felt that unity alone was the *'sine qua non'* of success of any movement for India's Independence. That unity was possible only when the Congress agreed to the Muslim League's demand of Pakistan.

Mr. Jinnah went on "when once the unity is achieved, the Muslims will join the Congress in the demand for complete Independence. Britain cannot deny it. We would get it in 24 hours. Otherwise you can find me, alongwith other Muslim leaders, in the vanguard of the Freedom Movement."

However, Mr. Jinnah said that he would agree to a proviso that the decision on the Pakistan issue be registered by a plebiscite of the Indian Muslims at the time of constitution making.

"But let the Congress declare in clear and certain terms as above and remove the suspicion of Muslims."

"I am not for the Muslim or Hindu capitalists to make a few more lakhs. I am definitely for the economic betterment of the masses, be they Hindus or Muslims. This is not possible at the moment without Hindu-Muslim unity." concluded Mr. Jinnah.

Mr. Jinnah also paid a glowing tribute to Mr. Rajagopalachari for his courage of conviction and realistic approach to the problem. "Mr. Rajagopalachari has served the Congress for over a decade and his loyalty to the Congress to that body cannot be questioned. But his loyalty to Gandhiji is much more." (Indian Press Service).

The Eastern Times, August 20, 1942 &
AFM/KU/QA/Clip 12/p. 33.

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Interview to the Associated Press of India regarding the proceedings of the League Working Committee, Bombay, August 19, 1942.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League had further informal discussions to-day on the present political situation.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah, the President, told the A.P.I. that the sub-committee appointed by the Working Committee had now completed the drafting of the resolution. The resolution will be

further considered by the whole committee to-morrow when it resumes discussion.

The Star of India, August 20, 1942.

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Press interview regarding 'Implication of League Resolution', Bombay, August 20, 1942.

The resolution of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee which was released to the press this evening will be forwarded to H.E.. the Viceroy, the Secretary of State of India Mr. L.S. Amery, the British Prime Minister and to the heads of the United Nations, said Mr. Jinnah, President of the League interviewed this evening.

Several questions were put to Mr. Jinnah on the resolution. Mr. Jinnah emphasised that it was an unanimous decision. He declined to say anything if there was more unsaid in the resolution than what is explicitely stated.

Reiterating that the Muslims were not wholeheartedly in the war efforts, Mr. Jinnah said: "Officially the Muslim League has not undertaken the responsibility of the burden of war efforts because government have declined to give us a real share and authority in the Governance of the country on honourable terms."

Mr. Jinnah declined to elucidate what exactly the Committee meant when it stated that it was prepared to negotiate with "any party." He, however, agreed that 'any party" meant any recognised party "which is able to deliver the goods."

The Muslim League President emphasised that the position of the League remained the same as before. The resolution demanded an immediate declaration accepting the

principle of Pakistan as a pre-requisite to the League joining any Provisional National Government.

Question:- Does this resolution mean that you want Pakistan ahead of the Independence of the rest of India?

Mr. Jinnah:- I want the British Government to make without delay the declaration demanded in the resolution whether anybody wants it or not. On the declaration being made we are ready and willing to consider any proposal from any party for the purpose of setting up a Provisional Government for the mobilising of war efforts, for the defence of India and for the prosecution of the war. There is no limit to the powers that may be transferred to this Provisional Government. It will, of course, be a matter for negotiations. We cannot walk into the parlour of a Provisional Government where we neither have an equal footing nor is there any settlement of our demand for Pakistan. Once a Provisional Government is formed without the express declaration that we ask for and the pledge from the British Government, we might be presented in the end with a repetition of the Cripps proposals.

The Star of India, August 21, 1942.

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Statement on Collective Fines, Bombay, September 6, 1942.

" I have received information from all parts of India through the press and various other sources during the last four weeks and it is a matter of great satisfaction to me and those who are working for the great Muslim organisation that Mussalmans have shown some remarkable discipline, solidarity and unity in complying with and carrying out my advice which

was later confirmed by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League on August 20, by completely keeping themselves as a body aloof from the mass civil disobedience movement launched by the Congress.

"I am thankful to all those who have helped us in giving effect to our resolution, and particularly the Muslim League organisations all over the country. I once more wish to ask the Mussalmans to pursue their normal life peacefully and completely dissociate themselves from the Congress move for the reasons I have already given and which are move concisely and fully embodied in the resolution of the Working Committee of the League passed on August 20, 1942.

"I also see from press reports and information given to me from private sources that the government of various provinces are imposing collective fines in certain districts and areas. I wish to bring to the notice of the Governors of the provinces and of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General that there is a serious apprehension left on the part of Mussalmans that if those fines are based on a territorial principle innocent Muslims will also suffer although they have kept completely aloof. I wish therefore to draw the attention of the Provincial and Central Governments that they must make it clear that Muslims will be excluded from any such collective fines that may have been imposed or may hereafter be imposed on such districts and areas.

It is absolutely necessary that an early announcement should be made in order to remove any misunderstanding that may be exploited and further to allay fear and apprehension of the Mussalmans." (A.P.I.)

The Eastern Times, September 8, 1942.

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Speech at a Press Conference, New Delhi, September 13, 1942

(A very clear enunciation of the Muslim position vis-a-vis the Congress demand for provisional government was made by Mr. Jinnah, at a press conference. Nearly all the British, American, Chinese and Indian press correspondents attended the conference, which was held at his New Delhi residence. Mr. Jinnah was in excellent form and gave a lucid exposition of the Muslim case).

He declared: "Subject to agreements and adjustments which are satisfactory to us, I put no limit to the degree of power being transferred, but this is subject to the proviso, which is *sine qua non*, that all parties must agree to and guarantee the right of the Mussalmans to self-determination, and they must pledge themselves to give effect to the verdict of a Muslim plebiscite and carry out the partition of India accordingly. If this proviso was not complied with and if the provisional government was formed outside the framework of the existing constitution and on lines which are urged in important quarters, then it will mean our walking like a fly into the spider's parlour: because if the provisional government is to be formed outside the framework of the present constitution, it will involve radical and fundamental constitutional changes and once these changes are made, it will be difficult to wipe them off, nay impossible after the war, if we were left without the guarantee and the proviso upon which we are insisting so much.

My fundamental point is that we do not want under the stress of the war emergency to be stampeded into forming a provisional government of such a character and composition as would prejudice or militate against the Muslim demand for Pakistan.

Civil War

Invited to say what he thought of Mr. Churchill's speech, Mr. Jinnah said that Mr. Churchill was right in stating that the Congress does not represent India and ninety millions of Mussalmans are fundamentally opposed to the Congress. He added: I have already expressed my views about the Congress movement. It is not possible to defend the indefensible. I particularly want to emphasize that this is not merely a declaration of war against the British and the Government, but it is a war against the Muslim League, which means Muslim India, and the non-Congress organisations, who were neither consulted nor referred to, but in spite of whose disapproval and in utter disregard of whom, the civil disobedience movement has been launched in order to force their demands, which are most strenuously opposed by the Muslim League and no less by other minorities and interests in the country. Under the facade of nationalism the Congress demand, in short, from the British is to hand over to it power to establish Hindudom in this country. Its demand from the British is to apply sanctions against the Muslim League in particular and other non-Congress interests; because we have refused to surrender our demand for self-determination for the Muslim nation. It is axiomatic to say that the Congress movement is unlawful and un-constitutional, because its avowed object is to subvert the Government established by law, but the greater objection is that this is a declaration of internecine civil war.

False Claim

Mr. Jinnah disputed a correspondent's interpretation of Mr. Churchill's speech as declaring that Congress was not important. He said: The correct reading of the speech, as I understand it, is that the Congress has put forward an entirely false claim that it is the spokesman of, and it alone represents, the whole of India. I think that no man who has got any sense of

fairness can possibly say that this is a claim which has got any foundation whatever for it. But that was the claim made in the speech of Mr. Gandhi at the conclusion of the last meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay and also in the speech of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Mr. Gandhi most emphatically maintained in his last speech that the Congress alone represented India. So did Mr. Nehru and he went further and said that the All-India Muslim masses were with the Congress alone represented India. So did Mr. Nehru and he went further and said that the All-India Muslim League was a reactionary body and that the Muslim masses were with the Congress and the Congress represented the whole of India.

That not only is broadcast here; it is broadcast all over the world, which, people abroad, naturally not knowing the realities of Indian conditions, believe. This sinister and systematic propaganda is carried on to mislead people and if you correctly read Mr. Churchill's speech he rightly repudiates this claim.

A correspondent tried to point out the Congress claim was not that it represented the whole of India. Mr. Jinnah, however, overruled him and said he did not wish to enter into an argument.

No Chance

"I really think, he proceeded, so long as the camouflage is maintained by the Congress and other Hindu leaders who directly or indirectly subscribe to that untenable proposition, believe me, there cannot be any chance of an honourable settlement.

An American correspondent: Do you anticipate the possibility of a dishonourable settlement being imposed on India?

Mr. Jinnah: "So far as the Mussalmans are concerned

that has been my fear. We know in history many instances of dishonourable action on the part of the most civilised nation in the world."

Questioned about the Hindu Mahasabha, he said: "If I may say so, it is the same as the Congress. In fact, I think the Hindu Mahasabha is much stronger in its hostility, so far as the Mussalmans are concerned. They make no secret of it, be it said to their credit. They do not resort to camouflage or finesse of the Congress. Bluntly and point-blank they say that they want to establish Hindu raj in this sub-continent and the Mussalmans must submit to it and if the Mussalmans do not behave themselves they will be treated as the Jews are treated in Germany!

When a correspondent asked whether he could infer from this statement that Jinnah-Mookerji talks yesterday had not been very successful, Mr. Jinnah said: "I cannot disclose the conversation but that even fire-eaters and people with unlimited ambitions become reasonable when the force of circumstances compels them to do so.

Muslim Demand

Asked if there was any change or the modification of the Muslim demands, Mr. Jinnah declared: "If you start asking for sixteen annas in a rupee there is room for bargaining. The Muslim League has never put forward any demand which can, by any reasonable man, be characterised as unreasonable. The Muslim League stands for independence both of the Hindus and of the Mussalmans. Hindu India had got three-fourths of India in its pocket according to our proposals, and it is the Hindu India which is bargaining to see if it can get the remaining one-fourth also for itself and rid us out of it.

"There can be no compromise on the question of the right to self-determination of a nation. It is their inherent birth-

right and to deny that is to deny their very existence.

Britain Unwilling

Reverting to Mr. Churchill's speech, Mr. Jinnah said that the speech supported the Muslim League point of view that the British Government did not want Muslim co-operation and did not attach sufficient value to it. Mr. Churchill referred to the ninety millions of Muslims fundamentally opposed to the Congress. He then went on to say that they had their right of self-expression. This is the only gracious reference by the British Prime Minister to the resolution of the Muslim League passed in Bombay on August 20 last. Is this an indication that there is any desire to seek our co-operation? In this the only value you attach to the Mussalmans and the Muslim League that they are opposed to the Congress which is a fact, and that they have the right of self-expression, which is a self-evident truth? Is that all he has to say?

An American correspondent asked: "Would you be willing to form a national government with those who are willing to join one?

He answered by a counter question: Does it not assume that is in my power to shift from 10 Aurangzeb Road* to the Viceregal Lodge whenever I choose and say I am going to form a national government? How is it to be formed and by whom?

Pressed for an elucidation, Mr. Jinnah went on to point out that the British Government had completely ignored every other party except the Congress. The *Times*, for instance, stated recently, that no settlement could be made which ignored the Congress. I entirely disagree with that statement. By reading these things, the impression left on my mind is that the British policy still continues to be this that while protesting and emphasizing that the Congress attitude is an impossible one,

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* Mr. Jinnah's Delhi residence.

nevertheless, nothing can be done unless you bring the Congress along with you. I very strongly object to it. It comes to this that you are dictated to by one party whose demand is admittedly considered impossible.

Provisional Government

Asked to elaborate his conception of provisional composite government he said: "It means a government formed for a specific purpose during the period of the war. I do not exclude anybody," he went on "unless that body excludes itself. I do not proceed on the hypothesis that this party or that party is to be excluded. If we have to undertake the responsibility, I think it is obvious that those who want to undertake the responsibility would naturally do their utmost to get all the help, assistance and co-operation from every section of the people, unless that body, person or organisation makes itself or himself impossible.

"The Muslim League is not supporting the war effort," Mr. Jinnah declared in answer to questions put by an American correspondent. It is not that the Muslim League is recalcitrant or inimical, it is unable to give whole-hearted and enthusiastic co-operation in the prosecution of the war, unless people feel they have their real voice and share in the government of the country.

Guts

But, however much we may deplore and condemn the policy of the British Government during the last three years, nevertheless, our position is that of a melon. Whether the melon falls on the knife or the knife falls on the melon, it is the melon that gets cut. Suppose out of bitterness and anger at British policy, I was to say tomorrow: Embarass, non-cooperate with the British Government," 'believe me it will create at least 500 times more trouble than was being experienced to-day.

"It is not a question of guns. The Mussalmans have five hundred times more guns," the Quaid-e-Azam said in reply to further questions. "Any intelligent man in India will tell you. I do not want to cast any reflection on the Hindus. It is temperament and the way in which the Mussalman is brought up.

After Mr. Jinnah's description of the power of the Muslim League to hamper war effort, if they chose to do so, a British corespondent inquired whether it will effect the army and the Muslims in the Middle East.

He said that as this specific question was put to him he must answer it and proceeded that he did not wish to give any blood-curdling account and that he was not in touch with the army but he felt that as sixty-five per cent of the Indian army was composed of the Mussalmans the League campaign, if launched, will affect a large body of the army and besides the entire Frontier would be ablaze, and that from the newspapers of the various Muslim countries (such as Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Egypt) he gathered that the people there were in full sympathy with the demand of Muslim India and that the newspapers in those countries were strongly supporting the Pakistan demand, and therefore he thought they were bound to be influenced if there was a conflict between the Muslims and the British Government.

What Result?

Reverting to the point Mr. Jinnah said: But I say to myself: True, we can give five hundred times more trouble, but with what result? I can only see two results to follows. The foreign aggressor will seize this country, may be from the east, west, south or north. If that happens, what have I achieved with all my sacrifice? – a change of master! And if the other parties are not with us it means internecine civil war. The other result is that if this revolution is set on foot by the Mussalmans, I feel hat even if it is successful in paralysing British power, resulting

in its sudden destruction, the consequences of so doing will be that India will be broken to bits. And when I contemplate these results, however much I condemn British policy and however strongly I feel, I say I am in the position of the melon.

Volte Face

"On the other hand, Mr. Jinnah proceeded, the Congress has made a solemn decision and demand of 'Quit India' from the British, adding that the question of settlement of Hindu-Muslim problem cannot be even considered until the British have withdrawn. This is the latest position taken up by the Congress which completely reverses the proclaimed and fundamental policy of the Congress for the last twenty-two years, that there can be no freedom and independence for the people of India without the settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question and unity.

"So long as this basis is maintained", said Mr. Jinnah where is the room for any negotiation regarding a settlement between the Hindus and the Muslims? And yet, day in and day out, it is urged, specially by the Hindus, that the Muslim League should make a move for a settlement with the Congress and torrents of appeals are made to find the solution of the deadlock in co-operations with the Congress".

The Eastern Times, September 17, 1942
& AFM/KU/QA/Clip 12/p. 33-35.

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Message to the Dawn, October 9, 1942.

A year ago in October, 1941 a small beginning was made by the establishment of the Weekly *Dawn* as the channel of

expression of the views of Muslim India. In giving my message to the first issue of the Weekly *Dawn* I had expressed the hope that with the support of our people we may be able to make the Weekly *Dawn* into a first class English Daily very soon.

A year has passed and let me express my thanks to all who have given us their wholehearted support, for to-day the Weekly *Dawn* is recognised as a true mouth piece of Muslim India, all over the world. Encouraged by the wide spread support we have received in the progress of the enterprise and taking into consideration the fervent appeals from various quarters, we have now decided to make *Dawn* into a really first class English Daily. I am aware of the wartime restriction under which we have to labour as in the supply of newsprint and the dissemination of news but we proceed in the confidence that we shall have the backing of all people who have the independence and welfare of this whole sub-continent of India at heart. There is not a shadow of doubt that to-day the Muslim Nation stands organised under the banner of the All-India Muslim League in a manner, as never before during the last 200 years in the history of British India. But there has never been a first class English Daily throughout these last two centuries which could voice the full sentiments, feelings and opinion of Muslim India.

The Daily *Dawn* which appears on a most auspicious Muslim day, the Id-ul-Fitr is intended faithfully, fearlessly and independently to mirror the views of Muslim India in all its activities, economic, educational, social and more its policy will no doubt be largely to advocate the cause of Mussalmans of India, promote their solidarity and therefore, to propagate the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League, it will not neglect the cause and welfare of the peoples of this sub-continent generally, nor hesitate to fight for independence for all.

I should like to make it clear that *Dawn* has nothing to do with the All-India Muslim league, nor will it in any way be

financed from the funds of the All-India Muslim League. It is entirely an independent venture launched as an effort made by a few individuals and the largest support that I have received comes from two patriotic and public-spirited Muslims. I hope *Dawn* will prove to be the starting point for a chain of newspapers in India for the purpose of educating the peoples of India into a true appreciation of their rights of freedom and the justice of the Muslim cause which has so far been the subject of much misrepresentation in India and aboard. Let us not lose by default, at home or abroad.

As far *Dawn*, the time may soon come when this publication undertaken by a few individuals may be turned into a Joint Stock Company, when I trust the public will fully subscribe to the share capital of such a Joint Stock Company Limited. In the meantime I sincerely trust the Mussalmans will realise the importance of this step forward, taken by us in bearing the responsibility of running a First Class English Daily and also the financial obligations cast upon them for raising the capital required in time.

I confidently hope that the public at large, and particularly the Muslim public will give their whole-hearted support to this venture.

The Dawn, October 12, 1942.

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Message on the occasion of Id-ul-Fitr, October 11, 1942

"I wish the Mussalmans a happy and prosperous Id-ul-Fitr. All other Muslim festivals are the universal festivals of Islam and are observed in all the countries and climes of the

globe. Id-ul-Fitr is a symbol of Unity and Brotherhood, divine and economic. Let us on this great and auspicious day take a solemn vow for establishing our rightful place in the present and also in the future new order of the world according to the light of Islamic heritage.

"The Mussalmans came to India as conquerors, traders, preachers and teachers and brought with them their own culture and civilisation and founded mighty empires and built up great civilisations. They reformed and remoulded the sub-continent of India.

"To-day the hundred millions of Mussalmans of India represent the largest compact body of Muslim population in any single part of the world. They have their own national culture and civilisation distinct from others. They stand for complete freedom and equality of all nations and peoples. Muslim India is destined to play its part as a powerful factor in the world-wide struggle that is going on, as well as in the future new order and post-war peace and settlement of the world.

National Freedom

"At the same time we, the Mussalmans of India, are determined to attain our national freedom and independence by establishing our own independent and sovereign states in the north-west and eastern parts of this sub-continent where we are no less than seventy millions of souls and which are our homelands and where we are in a majority. I appeal, therefore, to every Muslim to stand solidly by our goal of Pakistan, for it is a matter of life and death to us and to the future destiny of Muslim India. Either we achieve Pakistan or we perish.

"Let us to-day be one in spirit and one in mind. Let us be united as a solid nation and come under the banner of the All-India Muslim League and further augment and strengthen our organisation which has already mobilised and solidified us in a

manner and to an extent unknown in the history of British India.

The world to-day is passing through the greatest crisis known to history. Islam and Mussalmans are playing no less an important part in this titanic world war than any other nation. Let us resolve today unitedly to play our part also in the forthcoming world peace.

"The war is being fought no less on Muslim lands than on other battle-fields and some of the most important strategic points are in the Muslim countries. In India herself the immediate peril is facing the north-western and eastern zones — the homelands of the Mussalmans. We are passing through grave and dangerous phases of developments, both external and internal. Our foremost is, therefore, not only to achieve our freedom and integrity but our whole-hearted sympathy and moral support go out to other countries that are fighting for their freedom and independence particularly the Muslim countries.

Muslim Countries

"It is a matter of no small satisfaction to us that just as we have taken an abiding interest in the freedom and prosperity of the Muslim States, such as Turkey, Arabia, Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan and other countries and our sympathies have always gone out to them so I find that the people of Muslim countries to-day have similarly displayed their concern and sympathy in our struggle for Pakistan. Therefore, while we are engaged in your struggle for freedom and independence, let us not forget our brethren who in other parts of the world are doing likewise. Let us pray for their success. Let us also pray for those Muslim States who are independent and sovereign that God may help them to preserve and maintain their independence and sovereignty.

"No civilised nation can look upon this present conflict and clash of arms and the insane slaughter of mankind and the destruction of centuries-old civilisation with equanimity and without gravest anxiety. Let us hope and pray that time is not far off when this will bring such a universal peace and settlement, whereby it will not be possible for any nation to dominate and exploit another, but each nation will rise to its fullest stature and will have equal rights and opportunities to develop itself as free and independent people."

The Dawn, October 12, 1942.

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Interview to the Associated Press regarding situation in Sind, Agra, October 20, 1942.

"I have received several telegrams from prominent Muslims and associations of Sind protesting against and condemning the action of Khan Bahadur Khuhro and Mr. Gazder in joining the Ghulam Hussain Ministry without my approval and contrary to my advice and instructions. I find, according to press reports, that they are now taking shelter under the alleged decision of the Muslim League party in the legislature and that of the Provincial Muslim League of Sind. I do not wish to say more at this stage as the matter will have to be fully considered in due time, but I shall release the full text, if necessary, of telegraphic communications that have passed between Messrs Khuhro, Yusuf Haroon and me.

AFM/KU/QA/Clip 12/pp.39 & 39-B

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Speech in reply to an address of welcome presented to him by the Agra Muslim Students Federation, Agra, October 23, 1942.

Mr. Jinnah addressed a Muslim meeting here. The Agra Muslim Students Federation presented an address of welcome to him.

Replying to the address Mr. Jinnah explained the League's stand and its present position and importance. He stressed the need for working hard for the League's objective. (A.P.I.)

The Star of India, October 27, 1942.

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Statement to the Press, New Delhi, October 31, 1942.

"There is a good deal of kite-flying going on in India and abroad and a new scheme to solve the Indian deadlock is propounded and published in the press almost every day by somebody or the other.

"It is very difficult for me, therefore, to express my views on each of these schemes, because one is different from the other, and each one requires a thorough analysis and dissecting, a task which cannot be performed through the medium of the press in order to prove that they should be rejected.

Pakistan

"The All-India Muslim League has made its position abundantly clear more than once. The position to-day, however, is that to the Congress or Hindu India Pakistan is an anathema.

To Muslim India it is an article of faith. It concedes equal freedom and independence to Hindu India where the Hindus are in majority. Unless fundamentals are agreed upon, the details cannot be tackled and there could be no settlement or dissolution of deadlock, fundamentals being that all parties, including the British Government, should agree to the Muslim right of self-determination and undertake to abide by the verdict of the Muslim plebiscite in those zones — north-west and eastern zones — where the Mussalmans are in majority and give effect to it. On this basis provisional government can be formed during the period of the war for mobilising all our sources to resist the aggressor, provided Muslim India has an equal footing in the formation of such government.

"I once again repeat that any scheme which involves fundamental changes in the existing constitution or laws of India or which militates in any way against or prejudices or prejudges the Muslim demand for Pakistan will never be accepted by us nor would any scheme which establishes Hindu domination and hegemony supported by foreign bayonets.

False Propaganda

"I regret that a section of the public opinion both in England and America of late, not knowing the realities and grave issues involved in the settlement of the constitutional problems of the two major nations living in this sub-continent and under the stress of war and war exigencies and emergencies, is making all sorts of suggestions and proposals to secure whole-hearted and active support of the Congress to war effort without understanding the very foundation and root of the problem and is being misled by false propaganda that is being carried on. When some of these observations, comments and proposal are read here in the light of realities, they appear to be ridiculous.

"Appeasing the Congress means sacrificing the Muslim India, which must lead to disastrous results. We are concerned

with 102 million Mussalmans and their future destiny and it will be more desirable for people to stop this kite flying. It is doing more harm than good." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, November 1, 1942.

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Speech at a meeting held under the auspices of Muslim University Union, Aligarh, November 2, 1942.

"I find that the Muslim League now has so enormously grown and has become such a big organisation that its administration cannot be financed by one or two men. That is why I made this appeal which evoked response from all classes. You will be surprised to know that I received money orders even of two annas and four annas. The poorest people are sending their mite and are writing moving letters. If I were to disclose to you some of these letters you will know what spirit of sacrifice is burning in their hearts. They say they being poor cannot give money but they were ready to give their lives. Such small sums appealed to me more than the lakhs which a rich man can give. It shows that the Muslim League now represents not hundreds and thousands but millions of Muslims. I may remind you that at the last meeting of the Congress Working Committee, Pandit Nehru had the effrontery to say that the Muslim League was playing into the hands of British imperialism and the Muslim masses were with the Congress. The Muslims have kept themselves completely aloof from the Congress have proved beyond doubt that they obeyed the mandate of the Muslim League. It is demonstrated beyond any shadow of doubt that the Muslim masses are not with the Congress and we might now dispense with the plebiscite even.

"I visit you every year and I have adopted the role of a reporter. Let me now run through the story of the last few years quickly. In 1935 the Government of India Act was passed. The Congress and the Muslim League both were opposed to it. The Muslims were particularly opposed to the federal part of the Act, but they were willing to work the provincial part of the scheme for what benefit it might yield, though it had many objectionable features. Congress, on the other hand, decided definitely to destroy the Act and wreck the constitution. But in spite of all this bombast about wrecking, what happened after the provincial elections? They took office in the various provinces as Mr. Gandhi had actually succeeded in having a "gentlemen's agreement" with the British Government and took shelter under the slogan that Parliamentary mentality had come into existence. At that time Muslim India was dead as mutton. So far as the provincial part of the constitution was concerned, Muslim India was thrown at the mercy of the Hindu Congress. The Governors were standing by, the Viceroy was standing by, while every department of the social and political life of the Mussalmans was being crushed and every form of injustice, ill-treatment and persecution was being practised against them in Congress governed provinces. Muslim League was an anathema and every effort was made to crush it. Where was the Viceroy then and where were the Governors? They were guilty of the highest breach of faith; they were guilty of not discharging their constitutional obligations to protect the interests of the minorities. We had two and a half years of this night-mare. Had the federal part also been given effect to, it would have been a death-knell to Muslim India.

Now came the war, out of evil cometh good! By September 1939 when the war broke out, the Muslim League had built up a sufficiently strong position, so much so that the Government of India and the British Government could not ignore it. For the first time in a crisis like the war, along with

Mr. Gandhi, the President of the All-India Muslim League also was invited to meet the Viceroy. Do you remember any case before this when any recognised leader of Muslim India was invited along with the Congress leader? From that day Mr. Gandhi tried his best to get rid of the position that the President of the Muslim League on behalf of Muslim India had been given: an equal status with the Congress leaders. He adopted one pose after another. During his first interview with the Viceroy he broke down and shed tears in thinking of the destruction of the Houses of Parliament and the Westminster Abbey and he said: "Of what use would India's freedom be if England were defeated!" and he advised India to give unconditional help to Great Britain. he then went to the meeting of the Congress Working Committee though, mind you, he is not even a four-anna member of the Congress. He said, "What can I do? The Working Committee has taken its decision and these are its demands – immediate independence together with a declaration of the right of the people (mark the word people) to frame their own constitution through a constituent assembly elected on adult franchise and as an earnest of it a national government should be immediately established at the centre to which the substance of power should be transferred forthwith." In the meantime while these demands were being passed the Viceroy declared that the Federal Scheme was suspended. As practical men we welcomed this announcement in so far as it went. But we asked for its total abandonment. We also made the demand that no constitution, interim or final, be imposed on us without our approval and consent. Ultimately the British Government were forced to abandon the Federal Scheme. We found a considerable relief and finally in August 1940 His Majesty's Government by its declaration made it clear that no constitution will be imposed on India unless the major elements in the life of India agree to it and that the Mussalmans and other minorities will not be coerced to accept any constitution which they do not approve of.

The result was that Mr. Gandhi now started the game of coercion. In 1939 Mr. Gandhi and the Congress had already ordered the ministries to withdraw with a view to paralysing the constitution. He tried this and first the Madras Ministry resigned. He hoped against hope that the Viceroy will call him again, but instead the Viceroy immediately accepted the resignation and each Congress Ministry followed the same fate and the Congress-governed provinces were taken over under Section 93. Now, remember, what was the object of this method of coercion? Mr. Gandhi's sole aim is the revival of Hindu India and establishment of Hindu raj over the whole of Indian continent as the sole legal heirs and representatives of the British raj, and that the Muslims should go under and be brought under their yoke. The only aim of this coercion, if it had succeeded, wold have been to let down the Mussalmans. Up to this time he maintained that there could be no mass civil disobedience, as the Muslim League were opposed to it, and that he did not want to embarrass the British Government. But he continued his process of coercion and discovered the slogan of 'freedom of speech' and under cover of liberty of speech he wanted to propagate his opposition to war efforts. He hit upon this plan and it was obviously meant to coerce and embarrass the Government and to corner them so that they should yield to their demand. After 14 months of his individual civil disobedience campaign when he found that it was about to peter out, Mr. Gandhi discovered and so did the Congress, that Mr. Gandhi was not authorised by the Congress resolution to pursue this course and so the movement was abandoned.

Then came Sir Stafford Cripps to India in March, 1942. Naturally enough the British Government were anxious in their own interests that if they could reconcile the two great parties of India it would be good as it will secure their co-operation in the war efforts. So they sent a draft declaration through Sir Stafford Cripps. Let me tell you what it meant. First of all it promised

that at the end of hostilities the British Government will give India complete self-government such as is enjoyed by any dominion, or for the matter of that, by England. Not only that, but they made it clear that India would have the right to secede from the British Commonwealth if she so desired. The draft declaration also envisaged a constitution-making body composed of ten per cent of the representatives to be elected by Provincial Assemblies. According to this procedure Muslim India would not get even twenty-five per cent of the seats. This body will frame constitution for united India on democratic lines as the "Union." This was intended to placate the Congress. But the British Government also realised that if they stopped there, it would antagonise the Muslims who also counted as a force in the country and they had to consider how they were going to face Muslim India with regard to their Pakistan demand. For that purpose it was laid down in the draft declaration that after he constitution for the whole of India has been framed as the "Union," it would be laid before every provincial legislature to accede to it or not. The emergence of a constitution for one single Union of all India from such a body was a dead certainty. However, a consolation was offered to Muslim India to stand out of the Union. The procedure laid down was a loaded dice against us. In the two major Muslim provinces of the Punjab and Bengal, the Muslims, though forming the majority of the population, are actually in a minority in the legislatures. The task set to us was that if we could secure 40 per cent of the votes in the legislature against the constitution setting up the Union, then we could have a plebiscite of the whole province. So you see that the constitution-making body where we would count for nothing was hurdle No.1. The Provincial Assembly which would decide whether to accede or not to accede is hurdle No.2. If we successfully negotiated with both, then we would be presented with hurdle No.3, and the matter would be relegated to plebiscite. But whose plebiscite? Plebiscite of the whole province. The method proposed in the declaration was a mere eye-wash

against us. There was no acceptance of the right of self-determination for the Mussalmans. We, therefore, found it impossible to accept it. But why did Mr. Gandhi reject the Cripps proposals? He thought that if Congress once accepted the principle of separation he would have to yield on the question of procedure which was manifestly unjust. It was because of this possibility of Pakistan materialising that Mr. Gandhi rejected the offer. Then in order to side-track the issue of Pakistan he hit upon the slogan "Quit India" without consulting any other party. For the last twenty years he had harped on the theory that there could be no Swaraj without Hindu-Muslim unity, but though he talked a good deal about it he himself was the biggest obstacle in the way of unity. He decided to launch mass civil disobedience and declared that consideration of the question of Hindu-Muslim unity should wait until the British had withdrawn from India. This slogan of "Quit India" would have also gone by the board if the British had surrendered to Mr. Gandhi's wishes. Appeasing the Congress means sacrificing the Mussalmans. I do not say that the British Government refused to submit to the Congress because they had any love for us. They did so just because it suited them also. There are occasions when two persons who have no love for each other cannot help going on the same lines. Apart from this they realised that if they let down Muslims the League is now strong enough to make as big a hell, if not bigger, as the Congress can. They were afraid of us. As a matter of fact, this campaign of Mr. Gandhi is the gambler's last throw. What did you expect the Muslim League to do about this movement? Did you expect the Muslim League, knowing all the machinations and manoeuvres of the Congress, to support them in their mass civil disobedience? It is not only a war against the British, but it is also a civil war inasmuch as it is a fight for the Congress demands which are inimical to and destructive of Muslim rights. What would the British Government gain by appeasing the Congress.

It would have antagonised other elements and would have caused more trouble. If Muslims had joined the Congress movement in the name of freedom and independence, Mr. Gandhi would have represented to England and America and the world that he alone represented the whole of India and that his demand was also supported by Muslim India. A greater folly and a more serious blunder the Muslim could not have committed if they had fallen into this trap. The natural course should have been that if we had any belief in the *bona fides* and honesty of the British, ordinarily we would have joined them to crush the movement which was aimed against us equally. But I regret to say that we cannot trust the British either. They are playing their own game and, therefore, we only asked the Muslims to keep aloof from this movement. Let them fight it out. This is one of those cases where neutrality is the most effective policy on our part.

Now what has happened to that slogan of Quit India? What have the Hindu organisations been asking for since the 8th of August, and from whom? Instead of settling matters with their own countrymen, the hundred million Muslims, they have been sending appeals to England, America, and China and now Russia to take the initiative and help them. Mr. Jinnah then asked the Congress and Hindu India, "You had asked England to quit India. why then do you ask them to take the initiative? What initiative do you expect these nations or their governments to take in the matter? Do you desire the United Nations to impose a constitution on India against the will and in spite of the opposition of hundred millions of Mussalmans?" If Hindu India has the least desire to come to a settlement with Muslim India, is this the kind of method which they should follow? On the other hand, what is the attitude of the British? They say that the congress is a Hindu body and is only one party among others. True! The Congress does not represent the majority of the people of India. True! But when I ask what about Muslim India

of hundred millions and other millions of Indians who are not supporting the Congress party, there the British answer is a curious one. They take shelter under the plea that Congress cannot be ignored. But it is admitted that the Congress has made itself impossible, and yet even for purposes of defence and mobilisation of the resources of our country the rest are equally ignored.

I ask any honest man whether the proposal of Pakistan, which presupposes independence and freedom for Hindu India as well as Muslim India and under which three-fourths of India go to Hindu and only one-fourth to Muslims, is unfair? I say let us live as good neighbours and solemnly undertake that you will protect and safeguard our minorities in your zones and we will protect and guard your minorities in ours. Let all parties including the government agree to the right of the Mussalmans to self-determination and abide by the verdict of the Muslim plebiscite and guarantee and pledge to give effect to the Pakistan scheme and then the question of the Provisional government may be easily adjusted. I have had the opportunity of meeting many Hindu leaders recently who were good enough to come and see me, and I have put it to them without any offence: When did the Hindus rule India last and what part of it? It is a historical fact that for nearly one thousand years the Hindus have not ruled any part of India worth mentioning. Our proposal concedes to them three-fourths of India and they can control the government of Hindu zones according to our proposal. I appeal to them not to be greedy, because it seems to me that the Hindus think that we have conceded and according to our proposal, they have got three-fourths in their pocket and, therefore, why not manoeuvre and grab the remaining one-fourth and establish Hindu raj over the entire sub-continent. I say take three-fourths and do not grudge my one-fourth. Let me live according to my history in the light of Islam, my tradition, culture and language, and you do the same in your zones. Let us

thus live in peace. But the objective of the Hindu leadership, unfortunately, is that they want us to surrender and consent to live as a minority in the whole of India under the domination of Hindu raj. We will never accept this position. When we propose Muslim plebiscite it is on the basis that Mussalmans of India are by any and every definition a nation. Nowhere in the world would 100 millions of people be regarded as a minority. Thus it is not a question of concession or compromise, protection or safeguards. It is a question of the inherent birthright of Mussalmans to self-determination as national group inhabiting this sub-continent to establish their own States in those zones where they are in a majority. We cannot compromise on this issue. It would be compromising our very existence. If you talk to me as a minority there can be no settlement. If we are a nation it is for the Muslims alone to decide their future. But we ask you to agree to give effect to the verdict of the plebiscite of Muslims. Meanwhile we have no objection to a Provisional Government being established to mobilise all the resources of India for her defence. We are more vitally concerned with the defence of India as our homes and hearths are here. Americans can go to America, Chinese to China, and British to England; but my home is here. Therefore I am more concerned in defending my home. However Muslim India cannot join the Provisional Government, as a mere minority but only on an equal footing. This answer to out proposals is kite-flying, machinations and appeals to this foreign country and that.

People ask: Supposing the British and the Congress make up their differences and the former yield and surrender to the Congress demand, what will happen to us? The answer is: If the British Government after all their solemn pledges attempt to sacrifice us , let us down and throw us at the mercy of the Congress raj, believe me, even united, they will not succeed if we are united and organised. Now we are able to stand up and make such a government impossible. Even the combined forces

of China and America cannot impose on us a constitution which will sacrifice Muslim India. But if such a mad blunder is committed by the United Nations, remember even a worm turns, and notwithstanding the foreign bayonets upholding the Congress raj, we shall make the administration of the country impossible ; for it is far too grave an issue for us to submit to. It is a wicked move which involves the future destiny and prosperity of 100 million Muslims in this sub-continent. Faith, unity, and discipline I impressed on you as your motto last time. If you want to live and uphold all that is dear to you, the precious heritage of Islam, take your vow now and begin to work, and work and organise the Muslim League. That is your ultimate sanction and that is the ultimate weapon which you can forge. Further, these is a wonderful change in Muslim India. Team-work, selflessness, co-operation, help and service, if you cultivate these qualities no power on earth can suppress you."

"Muslim India Speaks". Published by Mushtaq Hussian Khan, Hony. Secy., Muslim University Union, Aligarh, pp. 5-19. & The Star of India, November 12, 1942.

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Speech at a luncheon given in his honour by the members of the Council of the City League, Aligarh, November 4, 1942.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah was the guest of honour at a luncheon on behalf of the members of the Council of the City League on Nov. 4. Covers were laid for about a hundred guests. Prominent among those present were: Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad and Prof. A.B.A. Haleem, Vice-Chancellor and pro-Vice-Chancellor respectively, K.B. Obaidur Rahman Khan, Treasurer, M. Azamat Elahi, Registrar, Khan Bahadur Moonis Khan, President, District League, and a large number of prominent members of

the staff and workers of the League.

Replying to the toast the Quaid-e-Azam reviewed the achievements of the League during the last five years. He said that the Muslims had lost many of the virtues which they formerly possessed yet there were certain things which were ingrained in their blood and it was that live spark in the nature of the Muslims which had greatly facilitated the task of organisation and rehabilitation.

During the last five years they had succeeded in establishing certain propositions which when first profounded gave a rude shock both in India as well as abroad. First, that democracy of the western parliamentary type was utterly unsuitable to the genius of India and second that the Muslims were not a minority but a nation. So long as Muslims allowed themselves to be called a minority they could not demand anything beyond safe-guards. Third, nation must have a homeland because it cannot live in the air. All these propositions were now fully established both in this country and abroad and even the Hindu leaders had begun to realise that Pakistan was a reality and offered the best solution of the Indian problem, although they may not yet openly say so.

The Quaid-e-Azam then asked the League workers present to think as to what to do next. There was a large scope for work by way of the education, social, and economic uplift of the Muslims. Referring to the defence arrangements in the present emergency the Quaid-e-Azam said that situated as we are, it is the Muslims who can help the Muslims and the Hindus who can help the Hindus. It is, therefore, best to depend on our own selves. The defence arrangements were designed merely to protect our lives, honour and property and were not directed against any party.

The Star of India, November 9, 1942.

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Speech at the meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council, Delhi, November 9, 1942.

"Since the last meeting in April we are again meeting today. Since April many things have happened both in India as well as abroad. Various developments have taken place and recently at Aligarh I gave a complete and concise survey of the present situation, specially of the political situation in India*. I hope you have been carefully following the events that have been happening in India.

"A section — a very well-organised section — in India whose main business is to misrepresent us abroad and mislead the opinions in America, China and England and other parts of the world, has been carrying on its propaganda. Naturally the American public knows very little about India.

"There has been a systematic propaganda to misrepresent the Muslim League. Either we are misunderstood or misinterpreted or in a daring manner misrepresented as allies of British imperialism in India, obstructing the path of its freedom and independence.

"To those who have been correctly following the trend of events in India this allegation about obstructing the path of freedom is not only disgraceful but untruthful. In these days the vicious methods of propaganda are capable of misleading even intelligent people.

"The Muslim League's position is this and it has been put in the clearest language in the Bombay resolution. There is no doubt whatever that Muslims are a nation. As a national group in their homelands in the north-west and eastern zones

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* See speech dated November 2, 1942.

they are no less than 70 millions in number. Our proposal is that in these zones we want our independent States and we cannot agree to any constitution on the basis of democratic central government of India.

"We say we have the right to self-determination and in the Zones where we are in majority those regions should be carved out as independent States. That is our inherent birthright.

Making of the British

"India never was one, never was a nation, never was a country governed by one single power even with the sword. It is a sub-continent of different nationalities and peoples. It was never governed, in history, by one single power. Even to-day, when constitutionally and legally British is ruling over India, one-third is not British. The administrative oneness is entirely the making of the British. The government which has been in this sub-continent for 150 or 160 years is not a government with the sanction of the people.

It is a democratic system imposed on the Moghul system. Its sanction is the British bayonets, and not the sanction of the people. There has been aroused a great political consciousness among the people and we want our freedom. We want to be masters of our own land; we would like to say good-bye and farewell to British domination over this land. Our proposal of Pakistan presupposes the freedom and independence of India.

It is obvious — I don't know how anyone can misunderstand i — _that our proposal says: We agree to give three-fourths of India — territory larger than any single country except perhaps China or Russia — with a population of 250 millions, to the Hindus.

Hindu Leadership

According to our proposal, we say: Have your freedom and independence in your Zones. Let us have our rules in our regions. It seems that Hindu leadership thinks, 'We have three-fourths in our pocket. Let us see if we can diddle them out of the remaining one-fourth.' That is the spirit, that is the manoeuvre under the garb of the various proposals that we have seen hitherto.

It all comes round to this: 'National' Government. Whose 'National' Government? Hindu National Government! Another is majority government responsible to the legislature. These are fine phrases of the day. It comes to this that Mussalmans as a minority must submit and surrender to Hindu raj. That is a position that Mussalmans will never accept.

We are not living in old times. A struggle of life and death is going on. Grave dangers are threatening the frontiers of India. Naturally any sensible Indian would be only too glad to do all he can to mobilise all our resources in order to resist any aggressors. Our American friends can go back to America; our British friends can go back to England Where shall I go? Therefore I am more vitally concerned in the protection and the safeguarding of this land than anybody else. It is for this reason that we have said we want the British Government and other parties in this land to agree to the right of the Mussalmans to self-determination and to abide by the plebiscite verdict of the Mussalmans. If that verdict is in favour of a partition of India, of carving out independent Muslim zones, then all parties must make a solemn agreement and pledge and give effect to it.

Once we are assured of this by a solemn and honourable agreement we have repeatedly said that in the formation of the provisional government we, not as a minority but on an equal footing, shall not only place no difficulty in the way but shall do our best to see that all necessary power is transferred to that

provisional government.

Kite-Flying

So far the only reply that comes from every quarter — I mean from Hindu leadership — is kite-flying, and plane-flying and the appeal to this foreign nation or that foreign nation. What is the use of appealing to any foreign nation? Is that foreign nation going to run the government of this sub-continent?

The government of this land is going to be run principally by the two major parties, Hindus and Mussalmans. That does not mean that the interests of the minorities are to be neglected. They also will have to be considered in any scheme of things that may be agreed upon.

New Spirit

This is the position. I find that there is some change coming over the thoughtful sections of Hindus, and I hope they will realise that we should meet and place our cards on the table as friends and see that justice is done to both. Let us hope that this spirit will soon display itself. In the meantime, we can go no further.

So far as the British Government is concerned we can't possibly defend the position of the Congress not only because their position is inimical to Muslim interests but also because they have launched a movement to force the Government's hands to surrender to the Congress and concede their demands, which means a death-blow to Muslim interests. I hope that Hindu public opinion will realise that and revise the policy.

British Attitude

The British attitude is also un-understandable, curious, because one party had adopted this course, which is meaningless and impossible, the British Government are marking time and are following the Asquithian policy of 'wait and see.' It is a great

blunder. You cannot wait and see. The sands are running out. Our frontiers are not safe. Our battlefields are not out of danger and this policy of 'wait and see' is the greatest mistake that the British Government can make.

I should say, get on, get on and mobilise. If you cannot mobilise 100 per cent, mobilise 90 pere cent; if not 90 per cent, mobilise 80 per cent, but mobilise. The sooner they consider, reconsider and revise their policy, the better. I think they ought, without any further delay, to concede the Muslim demand, which is just to the Hindus and fair to us. Concede that demand. I think the British Government, if they did that, will establish before the opinion of not only the bar of India but of all over the world that they intend to give the peoples of India independence as soon as possible.

I feel that Hindu India will not be able to condemn that position before the bar of public opinion in this country or elsewhere, because it is more than just and fair to them.

We have passed a resolution on collective fines. Instances have been brought to my notice in which collective fines have been imposed on Muslims, notwithstanding the admission of the Government of India and the British Government that Mussalmans have kept completely aloof from the movement for which I take this opportunity of congratulating Mussalmans on carrying out the instructions of the All-India Muslim League. In fact, this has proved beyond doubt — is there any need after this of taking a plebiscite of the Mussalmans? — that Mussalmans are not with the Congress and do not approve its policy and programme.

We know the administrative machinery of the Government of India has its own way. From this platform I once more draw the attention of Governors and the Government of India to this and ask that they should take every precaution that these fines are not realised from Mussalmans who are innocent and who should be thanked and not penalised.

The reports coming from Kashmir are very alarming. There is a resolution regarding Kashimr. As regards the Kazaks it has not been possible to get the Government to come to any definite conclusion and final decision. I hope the Government will see that this question is satisfactorily settled.

The question of Haj Pilgrimage is causing great anxiety among Mussalmans. The Government has issued communiques and explanations why it is difficult to maintain the route protected. There are among us members of Haj Committee who will give details about it. The next question is regarding the Sind situation. The Working Committee has examined the whole case yesterday and the whole question has been referred to a responsible committee. The Working Committee will await their decision.

With regard to the Muslim League since we met last April I may say that the League organisation is really growing by leaps and bounds all over India. We have appointed a Civil Defence Committee which toured 14,000 miles in two months. The object was to organise Mussalmans everywhere not with a view to creating trouble, but, in view of internal trouble that might take place or external elements which might cause trouble. Mussalmans were asked, purely as a defensive and humanitarian service, to organise themselves in order to protect their life, honour and property. This did not mean that the organisation could not render any help or give any relief to non-Mussalmans if it lay in their power.

Our 5-year plan is over. It has been carried out without any money or appeal to Mussalmans. You will agree that our 5-year plan has been a success. The Muslim League has to-day under its flag not thousand, not lacs, but millions of Muslims. I have heard from the mouths of foreign correspondents and British people who had been going round that wherever they went Muslims were solidly behind the League. I say you have got millions behind the Muslim League. You have organised the

Muslim League in a manner unknown in the history of India. You have a clear road before you. It is being made clear even to the illiterate. We have got a definite goal about which there is not the slightest doubt and we are determined to achieve our goal. We are going on cautiously, slowly.

The appeal that I made for funds is also necessary to carry on the work of the huge organisation. It was a cold-blooded method — a method very difficult for many. I have given no authority to any to collect money, but I ask the donors to send the money direct to me. In spite of the method I am glad I have received Rs. 4 lacs. Nobody is pressed; nobody is persuaded.

It is for the first time that we have established a first-class English daily. It is only a few weeks old. It is not yet what we should like it to be. Still it can be compared with many papers in India of the last 5 years. As time goes on we may excel even the leading papers in India. Its finances have nothing to do with Muslim League funds. It is the fruits of the efforts of two or three individuals. The paper shall live.

558

Speech on the Kashmir Resolution in the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, New Delhi, November 9, 1942.

Mr. Jinnah reiterated the League's policy that the Indian States were outside their scheme of Pakistan. "How can we prevent people dreaming, if they choose to dream" he said. As for the intervention in the internal affairs of States Mr. Jinnah said that when they found gross mal-administration and tyranny they would have to come to the rescue of their brethren in faith irrespective of the fact that they were in Kashmir or in China. In Kashmir, the Muslims, he said were not allowed freedom of

speech and freedom of association. They must see that their rights were safeguarded and their grievances redressed.

The Star of India, November 10, 1942.

559

Speech at the flag-hoisting Ceremony, Jullundar, November 14, 1942.

Mr. Jinnah unfurled the League Flag at Burtton Park. He thanked the Muslims of Jullundur for organising a royal reception in his honour and congratulated them on their enthusiasm.

Dealing with the importance of the flag he advised them to make every possible sacrifice to preserve its honour and dignity as it was Islam's flag.

Mr. Jinnah recalled the League's endeavours during the past five years to organise Muslims throughout India and said if they stood together their demand could not be resisted by any power.

"Key to Pakistan is in your hands", he said, "and if you use it properly you can achieve your goal of Pakistan."

The Dawn, November 15, 1942.

560

Speech at the Opening Ceremony of Islamia College, Jullundur, November 14, 1942.

Advice to the Muslim youth to see what they could do to revolutionise Mussalmans of the Punjab without taking part in

the present political movement in the country was given by Mr. M.A.. Jinnah, performing the opening ceremony of the Islamia College, Jullundur.

Mr. Jinnah was presented with addresses on behalf of the College and the College Union.

In a joint reply Mr. Jinnah stressed the importance of right type of education for Muslim youth, for it was the foundation of any nation, and was glad to find Muslims of Jullundur alive to this necessity.

Particularly addressing the Muslim youth whom he described as pioneers in the Punjab of spreading the mission of the All-India Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah said that they had to be in the forefront of public life after finishing their studies. He recalled that in 1941 when he visited Lahore to preside over the Punjab Muslim Students' Conference the political condition of Muslim was far from satisfactory, but he was glad to find that since then they had galvanised and electrified the Punjab Muslims and to-day 99 per cent of the Muslims were with the League.

He advised the Muslim youth to see what they could do to advance the cause of the League without participating in the present political movement.

The Dawn, November 15, 1942.

561

Reply to the addresses presented at the All-India Muslim Students' Conference, Jullundur, November 14, 1942.

"The open session of the All-India Muslim Students' Conference commenced at 10-30 to-night amidst scenes of great

enthusiasm at 'Gulzar Jinnah" specially built three miles north of the city. Mr. Jinnah presided. Those on dais included League leaders and office-bearers of the Students' Federation.

After presentation of the civic address by the Jullundur Municipal Committee and addresses by he Chairman of the Reception Committee Mr. Jinnah addressed the gathering in Urdu.

Replying to the civic address Mr. Jinnah declared: "Let me assure you that nobody desires more than I do a settlement but it takes two to make their contributions to peace and settlement."

In his second speech delivered in Urdu after the address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. Jinnah reviewed the League position from the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy to the breakdown of Cripps negotiations and said that some of his Hindu critics had now changed their views regarding the Pakistan issue. He prayed that this might lead to the establishment of separate Sovereign states for the two major communities of India.

Mr. Jinnah indicated that he would give a sweet message to the students in his speech tomorrow.

The civic address mentioned Jullundur as a reputed city of peace and goodwill and expressed the hope that Mr. Jinnah would so guide the deliberations of the conference as to bring their major Indian communities closer and nearer to each other and thus lay the foundation of universal harmony and lasting friendship.

Mr. Jinnah emphasised that he was no longer afraid of the British or the Hindus but of his Muslim brothren who pulled their weight in opposite directions. He mentioned how the Punjab which is the sword arm of India gave him a cold shoulder at the time of the last general elections but the Punjab and

Bengal Ministries descended like paratroops at the time of Lucknow session in October 1937 and 85 or 86 members from the Punjab singed the League pledge. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, November 15, 1942

562

Speech at the Annual Session of the All-India Muslim Students' Federation, Jullundur, November 15, 1942.

The Muslim League's offer to mobilise the Mussalmans to keep the enemy out of India's doors and form a Provisional Government to which real power should be transferred provided the British Government made a declaration and the other parties agreed to the right of Muslims to self-determination and guaranteed and pledged themselves to give effect to the verdict of a Muslim plebiscite regarding the Pakistan scheme, was repeated by Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, addressing the second open session of the All-India Muslim Students' Conference at Jullundur.

Mr. Jinnah thanking the members of the All-India Muslim Students' Federation for the honour done to him in asking him to preside over their deliberations dwelt on the task before the Muslim students. He endorsed the aims and objects of the Federation and advised them to follow faithfully and loyally the first article of the Constitution of the Federation, namely to arouse political consciousness among the Muslim students and prepare them to take their proper share in the struggle for the attainment of Pakistan.

He, however, warned them that while they were students they should prepare themselves for and not take an active part in the political struggle that was now going on in the

country. They should organise the Muslim students of India into a compact body to safeguard their interests, undertake a constructive programme for the social, economic and educational uplift of the Muslim community and popularise Islamic culture and studies and encourage better understanding and goodwill among the various nationalities of India. They should also promote contact and co-operation between the Muslim students of India and those of Islamic countries and the rest of the world.

"I do not want you to misunderstand me," continued Mr. Jinnah, "when I say that you should not take active part in politics. I want you to prepare, equip and qualify yourselves. The first and foremost necessity is to study, study and study. There is no doubt hat there has been a very great awakening, enthusiasm, emotion, sentiment, may, catch-slogans but remember that the problem of India is one of the most complex and difficult of which there is no parallel in the history of the world. It is by having your own minds clear by proper understanding that you can convert others, specially in these days of organised propaganda, which unfortunately stoops so low that there is so much of misrepresentation.."

Mr. Jinnah congratulated the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation which had given a good account of itself since March 1941, by carrying from one district to another the message and programme of the League.

Present Deadlock

Mr. Jinnah then proceeded to analyse the political situation in the country and said: "At present there is a deadlock. In May 1942, Mr. Rajagophalachariya favoured the idea of Pakistan. He is a great Hindu leader and capable man and has been one of the foremost leaders of the Congress. Not only even this proposal – which is different from ours – was summarily rejected by an over-whelming vote of the A.I.C.C. at Allahabad, but another proposal which laid down that the Congress will

have nothing to do with the question of Pakistan or the partition of India, Akhand Hindustan was carried again by an overwhelming majority. Thereby they banged the door because they were not prepared even to discuss the question of the Muslim demand of Pakistan.

Mr. Jinnah asserted that there was not the slightest doubt that the Muslim League represented Muslim India, but it was completely ignored, and treated with the utmost contempt.

Mr. Jinnah went on: "Thereafter, Mr. Gandhi hit upon an extraordinary formula which was that the British must withdraw. I shall be very glad if they do it to-morrow. We shall settle our affairs alright.

"Mr. Gandhi now says that there is no question of Hindu-Muslim settlement until the British quit India. It had been almost a creed and faith which Mr. Gandhi repeatedly announced that there can be no freedom and independence of India without Hindu-Muslim settlement. This was preached day in and day out and was one of the four pillars and conditions precedent to the attainment of the freedom of India. But this was thrown overboard overnight.

"An ultimatum was given to the British Government to quit India. Now why this suddenly at a time when Mr. Gandhi himself was partly negotiating, partly humouring, and partly coercing. At one time he actually shed tears and even said, 'What use is India's freedom if Westminster Abbey and Parliament were bombed?' After these methods had been exhausted Mr. Gandhi was so angered as to tell the British to quit India. Why? The reason is obvious. He does not mean what he says and does not say what he means.

"Any intelligent man can see that when he decided to launch mass civil disobedience, his one purpose was to coerce and embarrass the British Government, who are already in great distress due to war, to surrender and make concessions to

his demands which means destruction of the Muslims. That is the position which the Congress has taken up. They decided to launch mass civil disobedience. The ultimatum was contained in the decision itself but no time was fixed when the order would be given to fire or march. Before, however, an order could be given the British Government put them all in jail. Now I ask every Mussalman and the fair-minded Hindus to say what they expect the Muslim League to do now. That is where I will stop."

John Bull's Position

Mr. Jinnah then examined the position of John Bull who had said that they were going to fight to the finish with the Congress. He had told the world the the Congress was only one party and did not represent all Hindus even, far from representing the majority of the people of this country. Mr. Jinnah asked that if the Congress had taken up a meaningless and impossible position, what about the rest of India. He quoted figures given by British statesmen about Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Depressed Classes and those Hindus who were not with the Congress and asked what was the British Government's answer to the Muslims.

"Of course I am glad to say," Mr. Jinnah went on, "and I congratulate the Muslims that they in a body, from one end of India to the other, had kept completely aloof from the mass civil disobedience. The tragedy of it is that it is a civil internecine war in this country and nothing else. I am also glad that the Congress leaders who are behind this movement have also tried their very best, as far as my information goes, to see that they should not interfere with the Muslims and they know that if they did, it will recoil on them."

"So far so good," said Mr. Jinnah, "but the British Government have taken up a position which is not understandable. They say, what can they do? How can they form any Provisional Government ignoring the Congress. It is very un-understandable if the British Government are really sincere

and want our hand of co-operation and friendship, which has been offered more than once: if they cannot get hundred per cent support let them start with hundred million Muslims."

Bombay Resolution

Mr. Jinnah then explained the Bombay Resolution which was confirmed by the Council on November 9. "We have made our position clear," he said. "We want the British Government to make a declaration and want the other party to agree to the right of the Muslims to self-determination and guarantee and pledgle themselves to give effect to the verdict of a Muslim plebiscite and carry out the Pakistan scheme, the basic lines of which were laid down in the Lahore Resolution in 1940.

"If that is done we are more ready than anybody else, because we want to defend our hearths and homes and are ready to mobilise to keep the enemy out of India's doors. We are ready to form a Provisional Government on the basis of guarantee and pledge – to which real power should be transferred during the war. Here is a clear constructive proposal founded on fundamental principles. What is the answer?"

The Achhuts

Mr. Jinnah then replied to the address presented by the Punjab Balmik Achhut Federation, Ludhiana, and said, "I shall never forget the interests of your community wherever I am. Those of you who will be living in our Pakistan shall be treated on a footing of equality of manhood not only according to our modern conception of civilised government but because of our religious instructions which enjoins that every non-Muslim minority under a Muslim government shall be treated justly and fairly."

The Sikhs

As regards the Sikhs, Mr. Jinnah said: "Since I am on the Punjab soil I should like to say that the question between the Hindus and the Muslims is an all-India question and the

question between the Sikhs and the Muslims is that of Pakistan and, for all practical purposes, it is a question between the Sikhs and the Muslims ir the Punjab. If our Sikh friends wish – and we wish – that there should be understanding and settlement between them and us, then I tell them, let us not talk at each other but let us talk to each other.'

"We have no designs on our Sikh friends. I only appeal to them to free themselves from external influences, meet us, and I am confident that we shall come to settlement which shall reasonably satisfy our Sikh friends."

Mr. Jinnah stated that he had met Sikhs and talked to them in an informed manner. Some of them had now extended to him a most cordial invitation and he wished to thank them. "So long as the Sikhs," he added, "would proceed on those lines in the interests of their own community I would appeal to them: let us sit together and I pray to God that we shall come to a settlement."

Punjab Discussions

Referring to the discussion which had been proceeding in the Punjab on the basis of a formula for a communal settlement Mr. Jinnah asked: "Who is the author of this formula? Either it is colossal ignorance," he said, "or a case of those who see it, know it and understand it but will not see it and don't want to understand it."

He recalled the various kinds of criticism against the Pakistan scheme which had now ceased to have any value and said: "Now the latest trick – I call it nothing but a trick to puzzle and mislead the ignorant, and those playing the game understand it – is why should the right of self-determination be confined to Muslims only and why not extend it to other communities. Having said that all have the right of self-determination they say the Punjab must be divided into so many bits, likewise the N.W.F.P. and Sind, thus there will be hundreds of Pakistans.

"Who is the author of this new formula that every community has the right of self-determination all over India? Either it is colossal ignorance or mischief and trick. Let me give them a reply the Mussalmans claim the right of self-determination because they are a national group on a given territory which is their home-land and in the zones where they are in a majority. Have you known anywhere in history that sub-national groups scattered all over be given a State? Where are you going to get a State for them? In that case you have got 14 per cent Muslims in the United Provinces. Why not have a State for them? Muslims in the United Provinces are not a national group; they are scattered. Therefore, in constitutional language, they are characterised as a sub-national group who cannot expect any thing more than what is due from any civilised government to a minority. I hope I have made the position clear. The Muslims are not a sub-national group: it is their birthright to claim and exercise the right of self-determination."

The Star of India, November 20, 1942 &
The Indian Annual Register, 1942, Vol.II, pp.290-92

563

Speech at the Flag-Hoisting Ceremony at the Punjab Mulsim League Conference, Lyallpur*, November 17, 1942.

Speaking in Urdu Mr. Jinnah said that Lyallpur is not only a big city in the Punjab but will also be a big city in Pakistan. He said, "To-day I have unfurled the Muslim League flag and I hope that all Mussalmans will stand solid under it. I have made many speeches and everyone knows what this flag

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* Now 'Faisalabad"

stands for and I am sure that every Muslim will give his life for it. I have not words enough to thank you for the welcome you have accorded.

"Though I have been received like a king I have not the resources of a king to give you anything in return. However, there is one thing which I can give and that is my whole-hearted and undivided service to the nation. I hope you will do the same and thus bring near the objective of Pakistan. As I hear these words sitting on the top of the pedestal raise for the flag and hear the shrill cry of Pakistan I have only to say that nothing can deter the Mussalmans from following their way to Pakistan.

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Speech at the inaugural session of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League Conference, Lyallpur, November 17, 1942.

The general reference made by Mr. Jinnah in his Jullundur speech to the formula for granting self-determination to all communities was further clarified by him. He said that doctrine of self-determination required a very careful study and those who were responsible for "this mischief" knew perfectly well that they were misleading the people deliberately, He declared unequivocally that when he referred to this formula at Jullundur he was not referring to the formula recently floated in the Punjab which he had not yet studied; he was referring to the "mischievous idea" which was the last effort of the opponents of Pakistan who had exhuasted all arguments, he added: If that doctrine was preached the whole idea of constitutional history and doctrine of self-determination would be reduced to absurdity. This doctrine presupposed that they were a national group — not a sub-national group — living in a defined territory

where they were in majority and could set up an independent State.

Earlier Mr. Jinnah was presented with a civic address by the Municipality which described him as an "apostle of the doctrine of self-determination for every community" and expressed the hope that he with his far-sighted statesmanship, breadth of vision and sterling qualities of head and heart, would fulfil the expectation of his countrymen in ending the present stalemate and leading his countrymen on the path of progress and prosperity.

Mr. Jinnah assured the Christian and A.D Dharam Associations that the rights of their respective communities would be fully safeguarded according to the injunctions from the highest authority, namely the Quran, that a minority must be treated justly and fairly.

Mr Jinnah congratulated the members of the A.D. Dharam Association on the awakening in their community. He added that if they studied the proceedings of the Round Table Conference they would find that he had fought more for them than for Muslims becuase their was the worst lot in the world.

Mr. Jinnah, inaugurating the conference, referred to the growing strength of the League in the Punjab and said to-day he could see under the League flag all Muslims from the humblest *kisan* to a nawab. The masses, he added, were the foundation of any nation or country and there could be no nobler mission than that of raising their standard of life and giving them light and joy.

The Indian Annual Register, 1942, Part II, p.293.

Addressing the students Mr. Jinnah said "you belong to me and I belong to you. Let us march together and we shall win."

AFM/KU/QA/Clip 12/p.44.

565

Speech in reply to the Citizens' Address, Lyallpur, November 18, 1942.

"I assure you that whatever views I hold, I have no other desire except the happiness of the communities in India and I believe that – if not at present, a little later – when you calmly, coolly and dispassionately examine the proposal I advocate, you will realise that it is the happiest solution of the problem of this great sub-continent", declared Mr. M.A. Jinnah, replying to an address presented to him by the citizens of Lyallpur district belonging to all communities.

The address, which was read by Sardar Bahadur Dilbagh Singh, a local Sikh leader, expressed the hope that Mr. Jinnah's statesmanship would help in bringing about a settlement honourable to all communities.

Mr. Jinnah reminded the listeners that in history whenever a new idea was put forward it met with strenuous opposition: for instance, the first man who came out in the street with an umbrella was ridiculed but now the umbrella was a common thing. He invited all the communities to come under his umbrella and wished them happiness.

The Indian Annual Register, 1942, Part II, p. 294.

566

Speech at the concluding session of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League Conference, Lyallpur, November 19, 1942

Before the conference concluded, Mr. Jinnah addressed in Urdu, congratulating the Muslims of Lyallpur on the success of the conference and their enthusiasm, which he hoped would

not subside after his departure. He stressed the necessity of the educational and economic uplift of the Muslim community and referred to financial handicaps of the League owing to the absence of Birlas and Dalmias in the Muslim community.

He declared that they might stand in need of sword to prevent any aggression on their rights and emphasized the importance of gradual advance so that it might not be necessary to retract any step taken by them. He advised them to unite, for if they became sufficiently powerful they would be able to make and unmake ministries.

"Ministers," declared, "must understand that they cannot remain in office without our consent." Mr. Jinnah was glad that there had been an awakening in the Punjab and advised them to carry the League message to every corner of the province and organise primary Leagues in villages. If they acted on his advice he was confident that they would succeed in establishing Pakistan.

Mr. Jinnah expressed his full sympathy with Khaksars and recalled the efforts made by the League for the removal of the ban on Khaksar organisation, culminating in Sir Sikander's announce-ment in the open session of the conference that the Punjab Government had no objection to the removal of the ban. He expected the ban would be removed and Allama Mashriqi would be a free man shortly. He hoped that the Khaksars would come under the League flag and work in co-ordination with it, as they were passing through critical times and unity among Muslims was essential.

Concluding he declared, "We want to live honourably in this country and will never tolerate any government in which we are reduced to serfdom."

The Indian Annual Register, 1942, Part II, p. 295

567

Statement at a Press Conference, Lahore, November 20, 1942.

"If Maulana Azad could issue instructions from jail to the Sind Congress Party regarding the formation of a ministry in Sind, there was nothing to show that Mr. Gandhi would not be allowed to declare from jail abandoning the civil disobedience movement," stated Mr. M.A.. Jinnah at the Press Conference when it was suggested to him that the failure of the movement might have changed the mind of the Congress leaders and unless an opportunity was afforded to them to express a change in their policy their was no possibility of breaking the deadlock.

He added: "We consider that the decision of the Congress is not only a declaration of rebellion against the British Government but it is an internecine war, and this movement is launched to force the hands of the British Government to bow to the Congress wishes which we consider to be the destruction of our demands. The Congress decision is meaningless and impossible and unless there is a change in their policy there is no way out of the deadlock. So long as the Congress and Mr. Gandhi do not drop the pistol there is no chance of negotiations."

Pakistan

Mr. Jinnah was asked if he would agree to the postponement of the Pakistan issue till after the war in case the Congress joined hands with him and took over from the British Government the entire power and transfer of authority to form immediately a provisional government.

He replied: "When we are wanting power to be transferred it must be to some system of government to be set up immediately — then why postpone the question of Pakistan? If the system of government is to be so fundamentally changed, why should the Pakistan issue be shelved?"

Mr. Jinnah explained that they placed no limit on the transfer of power to any provisional government that might be set up. It would be a matter of agreement and adjustment between the major parties on a perfectly equal footing for the purpose of mobilising all their resources and defending our hearths and homes, provided at the same time it was agreed that the major parties accepted the right of Muslims to self-determination and pledged themselves to give effect to their verdict and carried out the partition of India. At present they had made offer that the verdict of a Muslim plebiscite should be accepted — the plebiscite of course to be confined to Muslims in areas where they were in majority.

"In the absence of such an agreement, what would you do?" Mr. Jinnah was questioned next. He said: "My answer is that if I accept the Congress demand I shall be signing my own death warrant."

In reply to another question Mr. Jinnah said that he considered it an insult to say that he preferred British rule.

Talks With C.R.

Referring to his recent talks with Mr. Rajagopalacharya, Mr. Jinnah said, "There has been no agreement between Mr. Rajagopalacharya and the Muslim League. Mr. Rajagopalacharya has no sanction behind him and as such he cannot deliver goods. He is a great man and I had discussions with him."

"When you speak of self-determination for Muslims, do you visualise redistribution of provincial boundaries in the Punjab," asked one Pressman. Mr. Jinnah said, "The first question is whether you are prepared to agree to the partition of India according to the basic principle laid down in the Lahore Resolution. Once the basic principle is recognised, full scheme can be considered"

Mr. Jinnah explained that his was not for the first time in history the the territories were partitioned; it had been done before. "If you find," he said, "there is a national group living on a large portion of territory where they are in a majority and if they want to have their separate independent State then that territory has to be carved out as an independent state." He declined to discuss further details.

As regards the latest formula in the Punjab, he said "I have obtained a copy of it but have not yet studied it. I, however, must say that no settlement is worth the paper on which it is written either in the Punjab or anywhere else, so far as Muslims are concerned, except with the League."

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Speech at a public meeting, Lahore, November 20, 1942.

The establishment of a strong Muslim press in India, as the power of the press was greater than that of the sword, was urged by Mr. M.A. Jinnah. He was presented with an address and a purse of Rs.3,001 by the Lahore City Muslim League and an address presented by the Punjab Depressed Classes Association.

Mr. Jinnah called upon the wealthy among the Muslims to contributed liberally for the economic and political uplift of their co-religionists in India than which he thought there was no nobler cause. He spoke of the achievements of the Muslim League and said that it had acquired a status which had to be recognised not only by everyone in India but all the world over.

Mr. Jinnah recalled that when he first stated four or five

years ago that the democratic parliamentary system of government was not suited to the conditions and requirements of our people there was a howl in the country but now most people had come to accept the position that the democratic parliamentary system was not suited to India.

There was a similar howl in the Hindu press when he said that the Muslims were not a minority but a nation. At that time he was called a lunatic, but now they were getting used to it and beginning to talk on the basis of even the two-nation theory. Again there was another howl, Mr. Jinnah went on, when the League passed a resolution in Lahore demanding the partition of India. Now, however, there were many who openly said that the question should be considered, while there were many others who agreed but had not the courage to speak.

Time was not far off, added Mr. Jinnah, when their opponents would give up intrigues, machinations, and manoeuvring. If they examined the proposal of Pakistan honestly, dispassionately and in fairness and justice he had no doubt that they must come to the conclusion that it was the only solution of India's complex problem and the only method of enabling the two major nations to live happily in peace and friendship.

He emphasized that the Hindus would never be able to rule over the Muslims; they should give up this dream. "If you don't take what is due to you," he concluded, "let me have what is due to me. If you don't, I will take it."

Replying to the address presented by the Punjab Depressed Classes Association, Mr. Jinnah reiterated that his sympathies were with them as theirs was the worst lot in the world. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, November 22, 1942.

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Speech at the Jinnah Islamia College for Girls, Lahore, November 22, 1942.

"It has now become crystal clear to the world that Indian Mussalmans are not a minority but are a nation and as a nation they want to set up their independent States in those territories where they are in an overwhelming majority. Mussalmans do not want a national central government as there is no Indian nation as such. Some of our fellow-countrymen are placing obstacles in our way but they can never succeed in their machinations.

Mr. Jinnah continued, "I am glad to see that not only Muslim men but Muslim women and children also have understood the Pakistan scheme. No nation can make any progress without the cooperation of its women. If Muslim women support their men, as they did in the days of the Prophet of Islam, we should soon realise our goal."

Referring to the Jinnah College, Mr. Jinnah said that he was very pleased to hear the report ready by Fatima Begum, Principal of the College. "This College," said Mr. Jinnah "has made great progress during the past few years, I wish the organiser ever success."

The Eastern Times, November 23, 1942.

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Speech at a reception given in his honour on his birthday, Delhi, December 25, 1942.

"Neither the Government of India nor the British Government can divert us from our goal – Pakistan – which is

now an article of faith with us," declared Mr. Jinnah, President, All-India Muslim League, amidst loud cheers, speaking at a reception given to him on his birthday by prominent Muslim citizens of Delhi.

Mr. Jinnah was the guest of honour at an At Home in Wellingdon Pavilion this afternoon where he was presented with an address on behalf of the Muslim citizens of Delhi.

Poems in Urdu were recited which paid glowing tributes to him for his great qualities as a leader and his outstanding achievements.

Opening his speech with a humorous reference to the poetic licence indulged in by those who recited the poems, Mr. Jinnah said there was no restriction on the freedom of poetic imagination; but his own position was somewhat different. Every time he opened his mouth he had to think a hundred times over before he uttered anything.

Referring to the reception given by the Muslims of Delhi on his birthday. Mr. Jinnah said there could be no greater happiness for him than to be in the midst of such a gathering, greeting him with affectionate regard. He deemed it a great honour that not only hundreds but millions of Muslims are appreciating whatever services he had done to his people.

Referring to one of the poems which said that Quaid-e-Azam is growing younger, Mr. Jinnah said: "If I am getting younger — and I believe I am — it is the feeling of happiness over being treated by the people of India with such regard and affection. Happiness is a tonic."

Mr. Jinnah continued: "While the addresses and poems were being read, I had a thought revolving in my mind. The position of Muslim India during the last 200 years has been that of a ship without a rudder and without a captain, floating on the

high seas full of rocks. For 200 years it remained floating, damaged, disorganised, demoralised, still floating. In 1936 with the co-operation of many others we salvaged the ship. To-day the ship has a wonderful rudder and a captain who is willing to serve and always to serve. Its engines are in perfect working order, and it has got its loyal crew and officers. In the course of the last five years it has turned into a battleship."

Speaking of the reward of those who have ceaselessly worked for Muslims, Mr. Jinnah said: "The greatest reward is that to-day there is Muslim unity and solidarity. The Muslims are to-day speaking with one voice. You have not only a flag and a goal, but also a platform. I venture to say that there is no other community in this sub-continent which is more organised than Muslims to-day. Let us thank God for it.

"We have to forge our own charter — not the Atlantic Charter. But it is Pakistan. Pakistan is there. We have only to take it. We have to prepare ourselves for every sacrifice. We have worked only for five years. If we work with the same spirit I have no doubt that Pakistan will be achieved sooner than we may have anticipated. Muslim India to-day is entirely different from what it was five years ago."

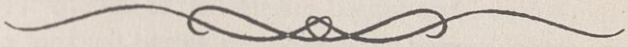
Referring to the attempts made to divert the Muslims from their cherished goal, Mr. Jinnah said: "Let me tell you, it is not going to make the slightest difference to us. Neither the Government of India nor British Government can divert us from our firm determination to achieve our goal, namely, Pakistan, which is now an article of faith with us. No greater happiness can come to me if I can see it established in my lifetime.

"I cannot give you anything. I cannot give you any reward, nor any post nor any title. Every Mussalman that I meet I ask for some sacrifice, some hard work. In spite of this position that I can give you nothing, Muslim India is showing much

regard and affection for me. What is the mystery of this? It is obvious because I have spoken what was in the hearts of millions of Muslims boldly, served you faithfully and led you truthfully. I can give you nothing except my service. I shall continue my service of the Mussalmans and Islam."

The Dawn, December 27, 1942.

1943



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Statement regarding the Annual Session of the League, Bombay, January 13, 1943.

"The next annual session of the All-India Muslim League will be held at Delhi during the Easter Holidays," Mr. M. A. Jinnah in a statement to the Press says :-

"According to the instructions given to me by the resolution of the Council of the All-India Muslim League dated the 9th November 1942, to make arrangements for the holding of the next session of the All-India Muslim League, I have consulted the various provinces in this regard and I have received invitations from various provinces for which I am thankful to them. But after careful consideration and having regard to the circumstances and conditions prevailing in India I have come to the conclusion that the next session should be held at Delhi during the next Easter holidays. I have, therefore, accepted the invitation of the Delhi Provincial Muslim League, inviting the session at Delhi.

I need hardly say that I appreciate and am thankful to the Delhi Provincial Muslim League for extending their most cordial invitation to the Muslim League and I wish them every success for their having undertaken the responsibility of making arrangements for the next session.

"The actual dates and agenda will be notified by the Secretary of the All India Muslim League as soon as possible." (A.P.)

The Morning News, January, 15, 1943.

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Speech at a meeting of the Muslim Students' Federaton, Bombay, January 24, 1943.

"The key to resolve the present deadlock primarily rests with Mr. Gandhi and the Congress leaders. If they show real and genuine desire it is possible to solve the problem," declared Mr. M.A. Jinnah, replying to numerous suggestions made that Mr. Jinnah holds the key to resolve the present dead-lock.

Mr. Jinnah was addressing a meeting of the Muslim Students' Federation.

"It is suggested," observed Mr. Jinnah, "that the Muslim League and I, as its President, should take the initiative to get the Congress leaders released from jail. It is a flattering and complimentary attribution offered to me. But let us examine the situation in the country."

Mr. Jinnah recalled the Congress resolution of August 8 last and the attitude which the Congress had adopted during the last two decades towards Indian freedom. As late as 1942 Mr. Gandhi had said: "So long as there is no workable arrangement with the Muslim League, civil resistance must involve resistance against the League. No Congressman can be a party to it."

On another occasion, Mr. Gandhi had said that a mass movement during war, without communal settlement would lead to civil war and would be an invitation to suicide. Mr. Gandhi had emphasized that independence could never be achieved without Hindu-Muslim agreement."

Quit India Slogan

The next question was, Mr. Jinnah continued, why suddenly had Mr. Gandhi and the Congress adopted a policy which culminated in the resolution of August 8, 1942. The policy of independence first and Hindu-Muslim settlement afterwards

and the adoption of the slogan of "Quit India" against the British was a sudden, complete and revolutionary change and an unprecedented somersault. The policy had naturally resulted in the British Government adopting their policy against the Congress mass civil disobedience movement.

"Do the Congress or Mr. Gandhi or other Hindu leaders think that they can achieve the independence of India without any agreement with the Muslim League?" asked Mr. Jinnah and continued, "The policy adopted – as has been stated by Mr. Gandhi – is a suicidal policy. May be that the Mussalmans are numerically one-fourth.

"But you cannot always go by counting heads. The Muslims are a very powerful nation in this sub-continent.

"The attitude of the Congress leaders is quite clear. Mr. Gandhi and the Congress think that they are strong enough to compel the British Government to surrender and submit to their demands at the sacrifice of the vital and paramount interests of Muslim India. The ignoring of the Muslim League could have no other meaning."

In this connection Mr. Jinnah referred to the recent resolution adopted by the Hindu Mahasabha at Cawnpore and said: "The Mahasabha which is a counterpart of the Congress makes no bones about it. They say, 'We are going to get the freedom and independence of India with you if you like, and without you, if you won't come."

Proceeding Mr. Jinnah said that the parties concerned, apart from ignoring the Muslim League, were attempting to coerce and intimidate the British Government with the threat of dire consequences. He asserted that a hundred million Mussalmans would undoubtedly revolt and would never submit to be at the mercy of the Hindu raj.

Mr. Jinnah continued: "On the contrary, the decision of

the Mahasabha would only give a handle to British diehards to use the unanswerable argument that 'we can do nothing if there is no agreement among the major parties.' Supposing the Congress succeeded or that the British Government quitted India and, according to the conception of the Congress, India became independent, Mr. Jinnah asked, whether the Congress would be able to retain the freedom of this sub-continent? It was obvious that Muslim India would never submit to Hindu raj and the result would only be anarchy and chaos.

Mr. Gandhi himself had stated that after the British leave they may come to a settlement or they may not, and further stated that there may even be bloodshed and civil war.

Mr. Jinnah continued: It was, therefore difficult for one to understand and follow the policy of the Congress or that of the Hindu Mahasabha. But there were newspapers that kept on writing and made suggestions that some sort of compromise should be effected. Several other suggestions and proposals had emanated from various other quarters also. They clearly showed that they did not believe in the 'Quit India' policy. What they wanted was compromise, compromise not with the Muslims but compromise with the British Government. They wanted the British in this country, though that was not their official policy. They were not for immediate independence or for 'Quit India' but for the establishment of some sort of government which would enable the Hindus to dominate and strangle the Muslims gradually under the aegis of the British.

Moon Shine

Mr. Jinnah characterised such dreams as mere 'moonshine' and he asked whether the British Government was going to put Gandhi and Nehru on the '*gaddi*' of the government of this sub-continent to dominate over the Muslims and others with the help of the British bayonets. If the Congress and the Hindu leaders sincerely wished for the freedom and

independence of both the nations, Hindus and Muslims, then there is no other way except to agree to the Pakistan scheme. Whether we live as friends and good neighbours or else, if the Congress continued to talk of 'Akhand Hindustan' and united India, the prospect is continuation of slavery for all.

Mr. Jinnah asserted that 'Akhand Hindustan' meant, as had been made clear by the Mahasabha resolution at Cawnpore, complete domination by the Hindu.

British Reaction

Once again referring to the suggestion that the League should take initiative in solving the deadlock in India. Mr. Jinnah said that in this connection the reaction of the British on the question should be studied.

He read out extracts from Mr. Amery's recent speech at the celebration of Akbar's Quarter Centenary and said" "Mr. Amery has made a discovery of a historical nature and has been studying the pattern of Akbar's government for the post-war reconstruction of India. The British Government in India, too, is constituted like Akbar's government. Akbar had Hindu ministers and Muslim ministers. Akbar knew he had to rule over both. He was eminently concerned with his own autocratic rule and that was no rule at all. He went, as far as he could, placating the Hindus at one time and placating the Muslims at another. He nominated his own ministers from different nationalities for civil and military administration. The Hindus were never reconciled to his rule and when there was any trouble either with Hindus or Muslims, Akbar did his job either through Hindu or Muslim ministers. That is the system of government which is sought to be perpetuated in this country. United India means that so far as the people are concerned they have no voice and it is the rulers who will rule by manoevring. It is that system which the British Government in India is following and desires to continue.

"The present Executive Council of the Viceroy is on the same pattern as that of Akbar's. There are Muslims, Hindus, Parsis and the Sikhs, all nominated by the Viceroy to do his job."

Geographically One

Referring to H.E. the Viceroy's speech at the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta, Mr. Jinnah said: "while Mr. Amery was engaged in the research of Indian history and preached united India, we find that the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, has suddenly discovered almost seven years after his stay here that India is geographically one. What does this indicate to any intelligent man? The Hindu Mahasabha by its Akhand Hindustan resolution which it adopted at Cawnpore has made a New Year present to the British diehards."

Under the circumstances, Mr. Jinnah asked, how he could resolve the deadlock. There had been no evidence of a change of attitude on the part of the Congress since August 8. Though many Congressmen were in jail yet all Congressmen were not in jail and the "Hindu press was not in jail."

So far there was not any sign of any change of heart. There has been no great proposal except rigid adherence to the position that the Congress has taken up by the resolution of August 8 and which has been endorsed in a most aggressive form by the Hindu Mahasabha.

Need for clear thinking

"Is there no body of men with clear head, a body of the Hindu opinion with sanction behind them, who have a proposal for the solution of the present deadlock? Is there any body of opinion which can give some assurance and which has some sanction and authority behind any definite proposal it makes of a change of heart and a change of its attitude and its desire to negotiate and come to a settlement with Muslim India and Muslim League?" asked Mr. Jinnah.

"If you analyse the whole position," he added, "you will find the key to resolving the present deadlock is in the hands of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress by evincing a real genuine desire for a change. Otherwise the great authority attributed to me is merely complimentary. I did not have the power to put them in jail and how can I have the power to open the jail gates?"

After reiterating the Muslim League demand for Pakistan Mr. Jinnah advised Muslim students, without in anyway sacrificing their studies, to engage themselves in social work among Mussalmans during their vacation. He also advised them to study the state of affairs in India and abroad. (A.P.)

The "Morning News" January 27, 1943

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Speech at the meeting of Bombay District Muslim Students' Federaton, Bombay, January 25, 1943.

The Bombay District Muslim Students' Federation presented Mr. M.A.. Jinnah with a purse of Rs.1,500. Thanking the students for the purse Mr. Jinnah said that it was not the money that mattered but the concrete proof of the appreciation of the services which the Muslim League was rendering.

Appealing for funds, Mr. Jinnah said that there was no single man in this country amongst Mussalmans who could bear alone the financial burden of the administration and requirements of the Muslim League. In March last he issued an appeal for Rs.10,00,000. He knew that if properly approached many people would have given large subscriptions and the whole amount would have been collected. So far no organised effort had been made to collect funds and al subscriptions were sent to him direct. Mr. Jinnah expressed the hope that the required

amount would soon be subscribed.

Mr. Jinnah exhorted the Muslim students to study the course of internal and international developments. Book knowledge of one would not do. "The problem of India," he said could not be divorced from what was happening elsewhere in the world. After studying deeply the policy and programme of the Muslim League and after convincing themselves of the utility of the League and its goal, students could become missionaries of the League and carry its message to the masses.

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Reply to the Address of Welcome at a gathering at Bandra (Bombay), February 1, 1943.

Mr. Jinnah urged the gathering to consider seriously the need for a high school and the establishment of a maternity home for the poor in Bandra.

AFM/KU/QA/Clip 12/p.48

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Address to the students of Ismail College, Bombay, February 1, 1943.

Emphasizing the Muslim League's demand for 'Pakistan', visa-a-vis the present political deadlock in the country, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in an address to the students of the Ismail College declared that it was a matter of commonsense that if the two parties in the country made combined efforts then the British Government would yield. So far the position of the

British Government was that they wanted "to stabilise and consolidate the deadlock." They proclaimed that they were only too ready to transfer power, provided there was unity. Some asked whether they were sincere and his reply was: Why not disarm the British Government of an argument which they advanced both at home and abroad? "Tell them that we are agreed," said Mr. Jinnah, adding "hand over the power. Then will be our time for a struggle which will be of one voice, under one authority and united command of all the peoples of the country. Why not create that situation?" he asked.

Mr. Jinnah said that rule of parliamentary democracy was not suited to the genius of this land and was alien to the Hindu philosophy. Now the Hindus had suddenly fallen in love with democracy because they could dominate over the Muslims. "The result of this unlimited ambition, obsession and dream," said Mr. Jinnah "is this. At the most critical juncture in the history of this sub-continent there is a deadlock. We are constantly told that this must be solved. It can be solved only by knocking out this dream of the Hindu leadership. Then there is the mass movement, the campaign of sabotage, destruction of lives and property in which innocent people lost their lives. No people can ever succeed in a political struggle by resorting to mass movement when in our own country there are large sections of people and the hundred million Muslims who consider this not merely as a domestic difference but that this is a war declared against them."

Earlier in his speech Mr. Jinnah denied that the Muslim League was fighting for religious rights or that it was a communal organisation in the same sense in which the Hindus understood it. The religious rights of the Mussalmans were embedded in their soul and body and none could take them away.

What is Religion?

"Which government," he asked, "claiming to be a civilised government can demolish our mosque, or which government is going to interfere with religion which is strictly a matter between God and man? The question is that the Mussalmans are a nation, distinct from the Hindus.

"The Muslims ruled over this country for nearly 800 years and for the past two centuries both the Hindus and Muslims were ruled by the British. During the last half a century People have begun to think and strive that any government must be responsible ultimately to the People.

"It is a historical fact that the Mussalmans are a separate nation and hence we must have our own States."

Mr. Jinnah emphasized that the sooner Hindu leadership appreciated the Muslim point of view the sooner would be the salvation for both. He thought it was the best thing for the Hindus to seize three-fourths of India with its teeming population and to establish their own homeland and to live according to their social life and to treat the minorities under them just as any civilised government should treat.

"As far as we are concerned." Mr. Jinnah said, "we make this solemn declaration and give this solemn assurance that we will treat your minorities not only in a manner that a civilised government should treat them but better because it is an injunction in the Quran to treat the minorities so." (A.P.)

The Morning News, February 2, 1943.

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Statement while releasing to the Press the Correspondence that had passed between him and Mr. A.K. Fazlul Huq, Bombay, February 16, 1943.

"As I have received no reply from Mr. Fazalul Huq to my telegram to him, dated the 11th of February, and as various developments are taking place in Bengal politics I wish to release the correspondence that has passed between Mr. Fazlul Huq and me so that the public should know the correct facts.

Letter from Mr. Fazlul Huq, dated 13th November, 1942 from Delhi, to Mr. Jinnah.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

After all that has happened during the last 11 months I was hesitating now to write to you but what I have heard from Qazi Sahib has encouraged me to write these few lines to you. You have known me for over 30 years, and you can easily realise that I have been longing to meet you and to assure you of my attachment to you and the Muslim League.

It is an irony of fate that this rift should have taken place between you and me after close cooperation for the long span of over quarter of a century. However, I now request you to allow the dead past bury its dead and throw a veil over all that has happened during the past few months and remove the ban on me and my supporters and facilitate our entry in the League fold. I can assure you that I will abide by the discipline of the Party and the instructions of the President of the Muslim League. As for the Progressive Muslim League, up to now it exists on paper only and it ceases to exist automatically with my entry and the entry of my supporters into the League. I need hardly emphasise the fact that in the interest of Islam and Muslim solidarity I am prepared to make any sacrifices and to

subordinate my personal interests and inclinations to the supreme demand of the Muslim nation. I am extremely anxious that the breach in the Muslim community should be made up, and that efforts should be made that no Muslim may remain outside the folds of the League. I understand you will be leaving Delhi tonight but I would appreciate it very much if you could give me a few minutes time to talk to you personally and to explain everything frankly. Under providence I leave the interest of Bengal Muslim in your hands.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd) A.K. Fazlul Huq

(Letter from Mr. Fazlul Huq, dated 5th February 1943, from Calcutta to Mr. Jinnah).

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am determined to solve the Bengal tangle and to put an end to the meaningless strife which is having the most undesirable consequences on the prospects of the Muslim community in Bengal.

Through the mercy of Providence I have an assured position in the Bengal Legislative Assembly and can carry on for an indefinite period till the end of the war and one year after.

But I am going to sacrifice all, that I now possess, for the sake of my country and to the solidarity of my community.

The step that I am taking will also show that I have not been able to blame for the unfortunate events that have taken place in Bengal during the last 15 months and that I have been more sinned against than sinning. I do not, however, wish to rake up the unpleasant past, but to concentrate on the future.

I gathered from the last words you told me in the course of my last interview with you, that in case I liquidate the Progressive Party and resign from my office as Premier, you

would lift the ban which has been put on me. I have thought carefully over the situation and with a view to facilitate my coming back to the League, I am ready to tender my resignation which will mean the automatic dissolution of the Progressive Coalition Party. May I now get a line from you to tell me that I have understood you alright, and that the ban put on me will be lifted as soon as I tender resignation of my office as Premier? If so, I will take the step I have indicated and I hope you will render the learnt possible justice by taking me back to the League, as soon as your conditions are satisfied.

With deep regards,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
(Sd) A.K. Fazlul Huq.

Letter from Mr. Jinnah, dated 10th February, 1943, to Mr. Fazlul Huq.

Dear Mr. Huq,

I am in receipt of your letter of 5th of February, 1943.

In the course of the interview that you had with me in consequence of your letter of the 13th of November, 1942, I maintained that our decision was entirely due to your wrong conduct and action that you took and that you have already done a very great harm to the Muslim cause, of which you are better aware than anybody else. I reassured you that I have no personal feelings in the matter nor was I, or am I, influenced by any outside agency or any particular individual.

I took the decision of expelling you from the Muslim League because your conduct and action was a gross breach of discipline and fundamental principles and policy of the All-India Muslim League organisation. Thereupon, you expressed your regret and assured me that you were repentant and also

expressed your willingness to abide by whatever proposal I would consider fair. You told me that all that you wanted was that the ban should be lifted and that you were ready and willing to remain as an ordinary member of the League and serve the organisation in any capacity that the League may assign to you. In your letter of the 13th of November, 1942, also, before I gave you an interview you stated, "I can assure you that I will abide by the discipline of the party and the instructions of the President of the Muslim League." Thereupon, I made the following suggestions to you subject to the final sanction of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League :-

(1) That you should express your regret for what you have done.

If you have now come to the conclusion that you should be readmitted as a member, it is due to the organisation from you whose membership you value so much, that you should show repentance on your part. Otherwise if members were expelled and allowed to be readmitted, as if nothing had happened it would not only be inconsistent with the self-respect of the organisation but would be destructive of the elementary principles of discipline.

The first point, therefore, that I suggested in my last interview with you, was that you should express your regret for what you have done.

(2) That you should liquidate the Progressive Coalition Party or completely dissociate yourself from it and resign from your office as a Premier. After that, I told you I was prepared to see that the ban should be lifted and that you and other Muslims, who were expelled should be eligible for membership of the Muslim League and also to the Muslim League Party in the Bengal Assembly. Thereafter the Muslim League Party in the Bengal Assembly will take such decisions as may be necessary from time to time with regard to the matters

arising in connection with and relating to the Legislature and the administration of the Government of Bengal in consonance with the fundamental principles and policy of the All-India Muslim League subject, of course to one over-riding provision which is embodied in the resolution number two of the Working Committee dated the 22nd of October 1939 and confirmed of the resolution number one of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, dated the 25th of February 1940, which runs as follows :-

"The Working Committee hereby empower the President to advise, guide and issue instructions to Muslim League parties in the various provincial legislatures in the event of some sudden emergency arising.

"The Muslim League parties should give effect to or carry out such instructions as may be given by the President."

At this interview of the 13th of November 1942 you agreed to carry out these conditions within a fortnight but I heard nothing further from you till now.

Before I close I must say that I cannot, appreciate, the tone, the language and sentiments expressed by you in the first paragraph of your letter because although you conclude it by saying. "I do not, however, wish to rake up the unpleasant past, but to concentrate on the future," you have already indulged to a considerable extent in raking up the past. I must also repudiate and cannot agree with what you say in this paragraph as it is contrary to real facts. I am obliged to say this because if you really wanted to bury the unpleasant past and intended to concentrate on the future you should not have started with such a preamble as is contained in this paragraph of your letter.

Nor do I understood the last paragraph of your letter, specially when you say "I hope you will not impose your decision on the steps that we may take in Bengal for securing the best

possible administration for all communities in the country." Perhaps it is a mistake and I suppose you mean Bengal.

Nor do I understand what is the meaning of your suggestion that I should not impose my decision on the steps that you may take in Bengal.

However, it seems to me that the last paragraph of your letter need not be discussed further, in view of what I have already explained and stated above, namely, the conditions to be complied with in order to facilitate your being re-admitted to the Muslim League organisation.

I shall move in the matter as soon as the above conditions are satisfied by you.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. A. Jinnah.

Telegram from Mr. Jinnah dated 11th February, 1943, to Mr. Fazlul Huq :-

Reference your telephonic call and our conversation. Have already posted reply to your letter of 5th February. Reply immediately on receiving my letter. I propose releasing correspondence to avoid circulation incorrect and misleading version - Jinnah. (A.P.)

The Morning News, February 17, 1943.

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Speech at the meeting of the League Council, New Delhi, March 7, 1943.

The President, Mr. Jinnah, said: "You have heard the

statement of Malik Khizar Hyat Khan. The main object of the resolution is that a Muslim League Party in the Punjab Legislature should be set up. As explained by Malik Khizar Hyat Khan a party already exists. It is a different question whether it has been functioning efficiently or not. But now a definite assurance has been given that efforts will be made to make the party worthy of the prestige and honour of the sole authoritative and representative body of the Mussalmans, namely, the Muslim League. Therefore, might we not wait and see what efforts are really made.?"

Mr. Jinnah proceeded to recall the terms of the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact, and said that essence of the whole arrangement was the Muslim members of the Unionist Party were to function as a separate party. Actually, 86 members had signed their pledges and given them to him. Constitutionally, the party did exist but it did not function properly as it ought to have. Many things would have to be done to make it really efficient and strong.

.....

Mr. Jinnah pointed out that Muslims League Civil Defence Committee, after their 1st 14,000 miles' tour of each and every province of India, apart from their immediate task of organizing the Muslims to defend themselves against external and internal dangers, had brought back ample material relevant to this resolution. They were going on tour again and thus they would have another opportunity of further exploring the same subject. It was better to wait for their return and, in the meantime, the resolution could stand open till the session of the All-India Muslim League. Further consideration of the resolution was thereupon postponed till the next meeting.

In his concluding remarks. Mr. Jinnah expressed his pleasure at the fact that, during the last few months, Muslim India had stood solidly behind the League and had spoken with

one voice. He said he would review the whole political situation at the forthcoming session of the All-India Muslim League in April. (A.P.I.)

The Star of India, March 8, 1943.

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Message to the Muslims of Bengal particularly the electorates and voters concerned, March 10, 1943.

"I most fervently trust that Bengal will rise once more to the occasion and record their verdict of solidarity and faith in Pakistan by casting their vote to a man in favour of the candidates adopted and chosen by the Muslim League, namely Khan Sahib Nurul Amin, Mian Abdul Latif Khan, Khan Bahadur Abdul Momin, Mr. Yakub, Haji Abdus Sattar, Mr. Sultanuddin Ahmad and K.B. Abdul Gofran.

"I hope Bengal will not be misled by manoeuvres and machinations of our opponents, but record their verdict in a manner, which will uphold the prestige and honour of the Muslim League not only in India but abroad."

AFM/KU/QA/Clip 12/p. 51

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Message to the Patna Muslim Students, March 13, 1943.

"I am watching as to what is happening in your province. Of course you are facing great difficulties and obstacles there. My attention has been drawn to an article in '*Dawn*' regarding

the College Magazine being now renamed as the *Mauryan*. The aggressive attitude displayed by the Hindus in different parts of India is not only highly objectionable but in the long run it will prove more harmful to them than to Mussalmans. I have every sympathy with you and wish every success."

AFM/KU/QA/Clip 12/p.52

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Message on Iqbal Day, Lahore, March 20, 1943.

The following message has been issued by Mr. M.A. Jinnah on the occasion of celebration of Iqbal Day;

"Dare and Live" is Iqbal's message. Optimism, industry, faith, self-confidence and courage are the principles on which Iqbal bases his philosophy and which he believes are the essential factors for the purification of human soul and for the elevation of human character. The obstacles and setbacks in life, according to him, make the life worth living. The sacrifices and losses made and incurred in the service of a right cause and for noble principles elevates a nation and makes life more glorious and worth living.

"Iqbal never believed in failure. He believed in the superiority of mankind over all the rest that God created. In fact he was convinced that man is a collection of all that is best in God's universe. Only man does not know himself. Man has but, to utilise his great potentialities and to use them in the right direction for the realisation of that 'self' which finds itself so near to God; and Islam is the code which has prescribed easy ways and means for that realisation.

"Iqbal was not only a philosopher but also a practical

politician. He was one of the first to conceive of entire feasibility of the division of India on national lines as the only solution of India's political problem. He was one of the most powerful though tacit precursors and heralds of the modern political evolution of Muslim India.

"Iqbal, therefore, rises above the average philosopher, as the essence of his teachings in a beautiful blend of thought and action. He combines in himself the idealism of a poet and the realism of a man who took practical view of things. In Iqbal this compromise is essentially Islamic. In fact it is nothing but Islam. His ideal therefore is life according to the teachings of Islam with a motto "Dare and Live".

"I wholeheartedly associate myself with the efforts of the Iqbal Day Committee in celebrating the Poet's Day on his birthday and I hope and pray that every one of us may be able to live up to the ideals Iqbal preached by his beautiful national poems and which have now embedded the doctrine of Pakistan into the heart and soul of Muslim India which is now burning very brightly, never to be extinguished."

The Dawn, March 21, 1943

581

Message on Pakistan Day, Delhi, March 22, 1943

"To-day the 23rd of March is a day of great significance of Muslim India. On this auspicious day, three years ago, was declared, at Lahore, for the first time authoritatively from the platform of the All-India Muslim League, the final national goal of Muslim India, which later on came to be known as the 'Pakistan Scheme.'

"The progress that Mussalmans, as a nation, have made, during these three years, is a remarkable fact. Never before in the history of the world has a nation rallied round a common platform and a common ideal in such a short time as the Muslims have done in this vast sub-continent. Never before has a nation, miscalled a minority, asserted itself so quickly, and so effectively. Never before has the mental outlook of a nation been unified so suddenly. Never before has the solidarity of millions of population been established and demonstrated in so limited a time and under such peculiar circumstances as are prevalent in India. Three years ago Pakistan was a resolution. To-day it is an article of faith, a matter of life and death with Muslim India.

"It is not mere sentiment or propaganda that has helped us in establishing our national solidarity. It is really the justice of our cause, the fairness of our demand and our birthright to self-determination, by which to-day we are proud to stand and for which we are prepared to die.

"We have embodied our goal in the famous Lahore Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, as the only solution of the political problem of India. It is a proposal that will bring universal peace and will uphold and ensure the maintenance of honour and glory of the various sections of the people inhabiting this sub-continent.

"We have created a solidarity of opinion, a union of mind and thought. Let us concentrate on the uplift of our people for their educational, political, economic, social and moral well-being. Let us co-operate with and give all help to our leaders to work for our collective good. Let us make our organisation stronger and put it on a thorough efficient footing. In all this, the final sanction and censure rests with and upon the verdict of our people. We, the Muslims, must rely mainly upon our own inherent qualities, our own natural potentialities, our own internal solidarity and our own united will to face the future.

"I particularly appeal to our intelligentsia and Muslim students to come forward and rise to the occasion. Train yourselves, equip yourselves for the task that lies before us. The final victory depends upon you and is within our grasp. You have performed wonders in the past. You are still capable of repeating the history. You are not lacking in the great qualities and virtues in comparison with the other nations. Only you have to be fully conscious of that fact and to act with courage, faith and unity."

QAP-File 561/p.66.

582

Message to N.W.F.P. Muslim Students Federation, April 4, 1943.

"It is really gratifying to note that the Muslim intelligentsia in your province is now up and doing and realises its responsibility towards the Muslim national cause, to uphold which is the duty of every one of us. The turn of events in the recent past has demonstrated beyond doubt that the All-India Muslim League is an organisation essentially of our people and has for its sanction and support the goodwill and confidence of the whole of Muslim India.

"Your province, by virtue of its unique position, is a very important province. Its importance will still be increased by the establishment of our national home-lands of Pakistan for which we are struggling now. It is a source of great encouragement to me that our people in your province have started to organise themselves. Strengthening yourselves is, really speaking, strengthening the borders of Pakistan, a thing which will enable us to achieve our goal and thus maintain our freedom, honour, prestige and glory of Islam for which we are now fighting.

Message in the Quran

"You have asked me to give you a message. What message can I give you? We have got the greatest message in the Quran for our guidance and enlightenment. All that we have got to do is to know ourselves and the great qualities, virtues and powers that we possessed. Let us work up to that great ideal. Let us utilise our great potentialities in the right direction. Let us forego our personal interests and convenience for the collective good of our people and for a higher and nobler cause. Pakistan aims at it and if we stand united, organised and faithful to our cause, the time is not far off when we shall achieve our goal and prove ourselves worthy of our wonderful and glorious past.

I appeal to our Muslim brethren in the North-West Frontier Province to understand the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League and study carefully the game that our opponents are playing. Do not be led away by mere slogans and catch-words. Do not be misled by mere appearances. Adhere to your principles and you will fear none but triumph. We have to regain the ground that we have to come to our own once over again. The task is hard before us, but it all depends upon us alone; and if we work steadily with courage, optimism, self-confidence, discipline and unity, *Insha Allah*, we shall win the battle very soon. One hundred million of Muslims are determined to achieve Pakistan where we have our homelands, and there is no power which can hold us back.

Go ahead with your work and I wish you God-speed!

583

Statement on the situation in South Africa, New Delhi, April 15, 1943.

(A delegation consisting of Swami Bhawani Dayal and Mr. Mahomed Ahmed Jadwat waited on Mr. Jinnah and apprised him of the situation in South Africa and placed before him the facts of the (Anti-Indian) Bill which has been introduced in the Union Parliament).

"I condemn it in the strongest terms and that if the Bill is passed by South African Legislature it would lead to the gravest breach between the Indian and the South African peoples and will go to sap the foundations of the future of the Commonwealth of Nations.

"South Africa will regret the day on which this piece of legislation is enacted and placed on the Statute book. It is not only contrary to all canons of justice and fairplay, but it will cause an indelible slur upon our people who are settled there for generations and upon the fair name of India. I cannot believe that General Smuts, with his foresight and sagacity as a statesman will allow this grave wrong to be inflicted upon the Indian people and bring about a serious crisis at the critical moment."

The Morning News, April 16, 1943.

584

Speech at the Flag-hoisting Ceremony, Delhi, April 23, 1943

Hoisting the Muslim League flag at the All-India Muslim League pandal Mr. M. A. Jinnah reiterated the demand

of the Muslims of India, for Pakistan. He maintained that under this flag and on the platform of the Muslim League, every Muslim, man, woman and child was united and was ready to make the required sacrifice for the achievement of their goal. He also added that not only the Muslims of India, but also the Muslims all over the world, were determined to make their position felt. He congratulated the Muslims on the enthusiasm shown by them for safeguarding their interests.

The Morning News, April 24, 1943.

585

Presidential Address delivered at the Thirtieth Session of the All-India Muslim League, Delhi, April 24, 1943.

Delegates of the All-India Muslim League, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I thank you heartily for having once more elected me as the President of the All-India Muslim League. It is an honour that to-day any man may envy and covet. I hope in the coming year I shall be able, with your cooperation and support, to guide the course, policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League. In the first instance, I would like to give you a report and tell you what various developments have taken place so far as the internal affairs of the All-India Muslim League are concerned.

Bengal Affairs

Ladies and Gentlemen, in the course of this one year since we met last at Allahabad, there is not the slightest doubt, that the Muslim League is moving from strength to strength throughout India.

In Bengal you know that we have suffered for the last sixteen months. It was our misfortune that even amongst our own ranks, our own people were made the spearhead of treachery who betrayed Muslim interests. I think, it is now settled beyond doubt that during the last 15 months Bengal Muslims have organised themselves in a manner in which they had never before done, at any time in the history of Bengal. They were persecuted under a Chief Minister, who, I am ashamed to say, was a Mussalman. (Cries of 'shame, shame') Ladies and gentlemen, if I were to give you an account as to what extent this ministry headed by Mr. Fazlul Haq stooped – no decent human being can ever stoop to the foul methods he adopted. (Shame, shame). But I congratulate the Mussalmans of Bengal and in this I give a very great share of the credit to the Muslim youth of Bengal who stood the racket. Well, we had a pointer some months ago in Natore election. The candidate that was put forward by our opponents against our candidate, I am happy to say, forfeited his security. In every by-election we won and in the last one in the Upper House we won cent per cent. This tyranny, this persecution, this manoeuvring, these machinations in utter disregard of elementary principles of justice and fairplay were resorted to by an organised government headed by Mr. Fazalul Haq.

Thus we have gone through the crucible of fire in Bengal. And to-day Fazlul Haq is no more and I hope for the rest of his life he will be no more. He often said that if he was a hindrance, he was willing to go. But he never went. I say with all due deliberation and with all responsibility that he was not only a hindrance but a curse to the politics of Bengal. He was a curse to the Mussalmans because he betrayed us; he was a curse to the Hindus because he served them, as a puppet and their creature. He has met his Waterloo. Let him now remain in St. Helena and repent for the rest of his life and pray to God so that He may forgive his sins.

Bengal has therefore shown that there is no room for duplicity. Bengal has set an example from which others may learn a lesson. It is now the voice of the League, the voice of the people, it is now the authority of the Millat that you have to bow to, though you may be the tallest poppy in the Muslim world.

I am glad, – although I do not think that we need indulge in great exultation, – that the Muslim League Party is running the Ministry in Assam. The Chairman of the Reception Committee very rightly announced that the Muslim League Ministry or the dominant Muslim League Party is running the Ministry in Assam. Similarly the League has now formed a ministry in Bengal and so in Sind and the Punjab. But now, while we approve of it, do not run away with the idea that we have won and that is all that we wanted. This is only the starting point and it is not that we are ready and willing to make all sacrifices for the ministries, we expect the ministries to make all the sacrifices for us. So long as the ministries remain within the orbit of the fundamental principles and the policy of the League they shall certainly have our support. But I want to make it clear once more clear that the time has now come when we shall not hesitate to withdraw our support from any ministry that does not follow the League principles. I have told you about Bengal.

Sind and N.W.F.P.

Now, let me tell you that you will find that in Sind, to day, – believe me, I am not exaggerating – almost 99 per cent of the Mussalmans are with the League and the League is being organised there in a manner which really if you were to follow you would not believe how this progress has been made. In the North-West Frontier Province – it is the only Muslim province which remains to-day under section 93 – my information is, and it is based on very reliable sources, – that within the last 15 or 18 months the Muslim public is entirely with the Muslim League. This information is based not on our agents or other

people, but it is based further upon the testimony of foreign correspondents who have been there and examined the situation.

Punjab

Similar is the position in the Punjab. But I regret to say that the Punjab has not yet played the part that it ought to play and is entitled to play – because, remember, the Punjab is the corner-stone of Pakistan; and I particularly appeal to the delegates from the Punjab – people are all right in the Punjab – when you go back, please – I won't say anything more – please substitute love for Islam and your nation, in place of sectional interests, jealousies, tribal notions and selfishness. For these evils have over-powdered you and you are being ground down for the last 200 years. But I see a light – a very bright light. Because, I say, when I went to the Punjab in November last, throughout my tour, it really made me happy to see that the solid body of the people were all right and sound. My appeal is to the leaders and we have got very able men, very capable men – if they were to make up their minds, I feel confident that within six months the face of the Punjab would be changed. Well I have told you roughly and in some way what the position of the League in these majority provinces is.

Minority Provinces

Do not forget the minority provinces*. It is they who have spread the light when there was darkness in the majority provinces. It is they who were the spearheads that the Congress wanted to crush with their overwhelming majority in the Muslim minority provinces. It is they who had suffered for you in the majority provinces, for your sake, for your benefit and for your advantage. But never mind, it is all in the role of a minority to suffer. We of the minority have suffered and are ready to face

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* The provinces where the Muslims were in minority.

any consequences if we can liberate the 75 millions of our brethren in the north-western and eastern zones.

We have got a great deal to do. Of course, it has now been made clear as to what we are struggling for. Any one who now pretends that he does not understand, well, what shall I say? He is a fool or a dishonest man. Our goal is clear: our demands are clear. What is it that we want? We want to establish independent States in those zones which are our homelands and where we are in a majority. In other words we do not want to be in union with those zones where the Hindus are in a majority and the Mussalmans are in a minority. Now let me give you some idea of the background of the movement in India for the independence of India.

In Retrospect

Ladies and Gentlemen, in the first instance, the Act of 1861 and the Act of 1884 gave a very small kind of representation in the so-called Councils of the Governors and of the Governor-General. If you will remember, a small beginning was made with elected representatives being sent either to the Imperial Council as it was then called or the local councils, or to other municipal or local or district boards in the country. The result of the working of the Act was – I am not exaggerating – that it was not possible for any Mussalman to get elected. Then came the Minto-Morley proposals in 1907, the first time when seriously this elective principle was going to be enlarged or increased. At that time the Mussalmans, who had learnt by their experience from 1884 onwards right up to 1907, made a demand for separate electorates. Mr. Gokhale who was a great Hindu – and I was quite a young man at that time – one who had learnt at the feet of that great man. Dadabhoy Naoroji, naturally came to imbibe certain principles, one of which was that we must try to bring about an equitable adjustment between these two major communities in this land. Mr. Gokhale at that time championed

the cause of the Mussalmans. With his liberal and broadminded statesmanship, – and he was a tower of intellect, – this is what he said in 1907:

> "Confronted by an overwhelming Hindu majority, Muslims are naturally afraid that release from the British yoke might in their case mean enslavement to the Hindus. (This is not a fear to be ridiculed.) Were the Hindus similarly situated as are the Muslims in regard to numbers and other things, would they not have entertained similar misgivings? We would undoubtedly have felt the same fears and adopted the identical policy which the Muslims are adopting to-day."

It is men of the character of that great Dadabhoy Naoroji that inspired us with some hope of a fair and equitable adjustment. But, remember, even at this period there were signs that there was a section which was dreaming in terms of Hindu raj. I give you one quotation from a prominent Hindu leader – Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal. You will see that even as far back as 1913 that was the definite aim of a large section of the Hindus. This is what Mr. Pal says in May 1913:

> "National differentiations among us, therefore, have not been based upon territorial demarcations only or upon political or economic competitions and conflicts, but upon differences of culture. Under the Muslims we had, whether Hindus or Mussalmans, one common government, but that did not destroy the integrity of Hindu culture. We took many things from our Mohammedan neighbours, and gave them also something of our own, but this interchange of ideas and institutions did not destroy our special character or our special culture. And that special character and culture is the very soul and essence of what we now understand as Nationalism. This is by no means a mere political idea or

ideal. It is something that touches every department of our collective life and activity. It is organised in our demostic, our communal, our social and our socio-economic institutions. In fact politics form, from some points of view, the least important factor of this idea among us. The so-called free political institutions of Europe might, indeed, hinder instead of helping the growth of our real national life; while under conceivable conditions, mere political subjection might not be able to touch even the outermost fringe of that life."

Then he goes on:

"The Nationalist Movement in India which, so far, is essentially a Hindu movement, stands:

I. Ideally, for (1) Hindu Nationalism; (2) Federal Internationalism; (3) Universal Federation.

II. Practically for (1) the preservation of the distinctive genius and character of Hindu culture and civilisation. (2) The promotion of sympathetic and reverent study of other world cultures, e.g., Christian and Islam, representing the composite of modern India, and the cultivation of the spirit of mutual understanding and the helpful co-operation with them. (3) The continuance of the British connection through the gradual building up of a federal constitution for the present association called the British Empire, a Federation in which India and Egypt shall be equal co-partners of Great Britain with Ireland and the British colonies. (4) The advancement of Universal Federation."

He stands for what? Hindu Nationalism. But as I say, undaunted, hope sprang almost eternally in my heart and soul, derived from Dadabhoy Naoroji, I was not going to give it up, but nourish it. After the Karachi session of the Congress in 1913, I redoubled my efforts. What happened? Those of you who

remember it know, it was our set purpose to remove this misunderstanding. There were many other who were a pillar of strength amongst the Mussalmans as well as the Hindus who made great efforts. I was the arch culprit in this mission. I therefore tried and succeeded to get these two organisations – the Congress and the Muslim League – to meet at least in one city. That was in 1915. It was after laborious efforts that I got them together in the city of Bombay. At that time, as it happened, the war was on and it was expected that the Government would make some declaration of policy on constitutional reform in this country. Our friends the British at that time – even to-day I don't think they have given up this game – did not want that these two organisations should meet in the same city, – leave alone under one roof. You know, Ladies and Gentlemen, that that session of the All-India Muslim League at its first meeting was broken up under the very nose of the police. We asked the Government to hold an enquiry as we felt that it was with the connivance of the police and with the support of the bureaucracy that the meeting of the Muslim League had b n broken up;. I do not want to go into details. It is a matter of history. I want just to skip over those events and give you the background. They saw through that and we were not far wrong. At the end of the next year, that is in December 1916, the Congress and the League again met at Lucknow and there we signed, sealed and delivered the Lucknow Pact, known as Hindu-Muslim Lucknow Pact. But that Pact was mutilated by the British Parliament in various ways. After that came the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms declaration.

Enter Mr. Gandhi

It was in 1916-17. While this was going on, came Mr. Gandhi on the horizon. Let us see what happened. Mr. Gandhi put his declaration in "*Young India*" on the 12th of May, 1920 – you will remember that in this same auspicious month of May Mr. B.C. Pal made his declaration seven years ago – and what

does Mr. Gandhi say?

"It will be seen that for me there are not politics but religion. They subserve religion."

You will see later what Mr. Gandhi has done in pursuance of his declaration. He says further:

"The politician in me has never dominated a single decision of mine, and if I take part in politics, it is only because politics encircle us to-day like the coil of a snake, from which one cannot get out, no matter how much one tries. In order to wrestle with this snake, I have been experimenting with myself and my friends in politics by introducing religion into politics."

Let me tell you, Ladies and Gentlemen, he has done that with a vengeance, as you will perceive when I go further. In 1921 after he had captured the Congress at Nagpur, he said in "*Young India*" on the 12th October 1921:

"I call myself a Sanatani (Orthodox) Hindu because, firstly I believe in the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Puranas and all that goes by the name of Hindu scriptures and therefore in Avatars and rebirth." (Ultimately he himself became an Avatar).

"Secondly, I believe in the Varnasharma Dharma (the law of the caste System) in its vedic forms.

"Thirdly, I believe in the protection of the cow as an article of faith, and fourthly, I do not disbelieve in idol worship."

He says in a milder form, "I do not '*disbelieve*' in idol worship.

In spite of these declarations which are so clear and anequivocal, the Hindu nationalists got a little nervous about it. They did not know that here is a man, a far sighted, shrewd man. So there was a little apprehension and nervousness and in order to reassure them, this is what he said in 1924:

"It has been whispered that by being so much with the Mussalman friends, I make myself unfit to know the Hindu mind. The Hindu mind is myself. Surely, I do not live amidst Hindus to know the Hindu mind when every fibre of my being is Hindu."

"My Hinduism must be a very poor thing if it cannot flourish under influences the most adverse."

Yet, Ladies and Gentlemen, you will remember that when I expressed my desire to meet him as a Hindu leader he resented it – and yet he says, "every fibre of his being is Hindu" which means that his Hindu mind is impregnable. This was in 1924.

1925 and after

From 1925 onwards, as you know, many efforts were made for the adjustment of Hindu-Muslim differences. Every time we were the petitioners, the supplicants standing at the doors of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress, with our proposals formulated. For some reason or other the reply was "No." They never made any counter-proposals. You remember we formulated in 1927 at Delhi some proposals. Somehow or other, fortunately or unfortunately, those proposals were substantially accepted by the Congress at Madras at the end of 1927. Therefore, the communal settlement was brought about and two committees were appointed, by the Muslim League and the Congress, to make jointly a political demand. Let me tell you that when these two committees met, it was Mr. Gandhi who smashed it up (cries of shame, shame) and the Nehru Report was started contrary to the resolutions of these two organisations and after the two committee had actually met but dissolved. So we were forced to withdraw our proposals. What happened next? Then came the Nehru Report. You know the history of it. I shall only tell you what Maulana Mohammed Ali said about the Nehru Report. He was an independent man.

Some of the Muslims in the Congress had suffered more than anybody else. This is what Maulana Mohammad Ali says:

> "In the days of the rule of the British India Company the Government street-criers used to announce the dual sovereignty of India before notifying any Government notice, proclaiming the formula, namely, *Khalq Khuda Ki – Mulk Maleka Ka – Hukam Company Bahadur Ka* (the people belong to God, the country belongs to the Queen Victoria, and the Government belongs to the Company Bahadur). But under the proposed regime of the Nehru Scheme of Mr. Gandhi the Government street-criers will announce the new dual sovereignty of India by declaring the formula, namely, *Khalq Khuda Ki – Mulk British Ka–Hukam Mahasabha Bahadur Ka* – (the people belong to god, the country belongs to the British and the government belongs to the Hindu Mahasabha Bahadur)."

Presiding over a public meeting in Bombay in 1930, Maulana Mohammad Ali, who had worked, suffered and made sacrifices, along with the congressmen, says:

> "Mr. Gandhi is working under the influence of the communalist Hindu Mahasabha. He is fighting for the supremacy of Hinduism and the submersion of Muslims. He has never consulted the Muslim community on the question of starting Civil Disobedience movement. He wants to triumphantly pass over the head of the India Muslim community. We have not broken any pledge, pact or treaty. We are not traitors to India. The Mussalmans have been oppressed and persecuted by the excesses of the Hindu majority in the last ten years but Mr. Gandhi never tried to improve matters or condemn Hindu terrorism against the Muslims. He never denounced the movements of

Shuddhi and Sanghatan which openly and clearly aimed at annihilation of Muslims and Islam in India. He repudiated and broke the Madras Hindu-Muslim agreement. Now we have no option but to follow the Quranic teaching, namely, 'If you fear treachery and pledge-breaking from any community, then throw her treaty on her face. Allah does not approve the action of traitors and pledge-breakers."

Now we come to the Second Round Table Conference to which Mr. Gandhi went for the first time as the sole representative of the Congress. What happened there? All attempts for a settlement were again smashed up by him very clearly and with some excuse or other. You will find in Dr. Ambedkar's book that one of the conditions that he imposed upon the Muslim delegation in London was that he would be prepared to agree to our proposals on the express condition that we, the Muslims, should oppose the scheduled castes asking for any kind of separate electorates or special treatment. In other words Mr. Gandhi did not want special treatment to be given to the scheduled castes. Now I ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen, how is it possible for any man, who has got any elementary idea of honour, of integrity, of fairplay, of justice, to agree to this, that these 60 millions who are the biggest blot on the fair name of India, should be kept as untouchables at the mercy of the Sanatansits, Mr. Gandhi being one. I assure you, in the name of humanity I care more for them than for Mussalmans. After all, we, Mussalmans are capable of giving and taking. Could there be any condition so offensive and absurd as this one laid down by Mr. Gandhi. Second condition was that you Muslims agree that you will fight for the freedom of the country. Am I so degraded as to accept such a condition? I want the freedom of the people of this country more than anybody else. It looked as if Mr. Gandhi had the monopoly for the love and the freedom of the country. The thing naturally broke down. When the minorities

committee of the Round Table Conference met, this is what Mr. Gandhi said – and the real thing that was at back of his mind always came out at the critical moment, in a round-about way. He was addressing the Minorities Committee and Mr. MacDonald was presiding. He said:

> "Further, you will allow me to say that this was hardly the time to summon the Minorities Committee. The solution of the communal tangle can be the crown of Swaraj Constitution and not its foundation. Our differences have hardened, if they have not arisen, by reason of the foreign domination. I have not a shadow of doubt that the iceberg of communal differences will melt under the warmth of the sun of freedom."

What did Mr. MacDonald say? Even the Prime Minister was provoked to such an extent that he spoke out. Whatever may be said about Mr. MacDonald, he had really a very soft corner for the aspirations of India. This is what he said to Mr.. Gandhi:

"Be honest and face the facts. The communal problem is a problem of fact. Does the problem exist in India or does it not exist? I do not answer. I leave you honestly to answer it for yourselves and to yourselves. Then if then communal problem does exist, how can it be discussed with a view to settlement, either in India or here? At the foundation of any progress towards the setting up of an Indian constitution lies the problem of community representation, community rights, community protection and so on..."

Gandhi Institutions

That closed the chapter of the Round Table Conference. What happened then? I will tell you very briefly. Mr. Gandhi put up the following institutions:

1. "*The Gandhi Ashram*" (Monastery) at Sevagram, Wardha (to serve as the Vatican of Gandhism and the Capital of the Congress).

2. "*The Gandhi Seva Sanga*" (a small body of nine Gandhian Cardinals or High Patriarchs who form the permanent Inner Cabinet of Gandhi and Gandhism).

3. "*Gandhi Harijan Seva Sangha*" (to consolidate the Depressed Classes as an integral part of Hinduism and to prevent their conversion to Islam or Christianity).

4. "*Gandhi Hindi Prachar Sangha*" (to propagate Sanskritised Hindi as the state and national language of India and to displace Urdu from its place of primacy and popularity).

5. "*Gandhi Nagri Prachar Sabha*" (to propagate the idea that all Indian languages should be written in Hindi Devanagari script and to displace Urdu script).

6. "*Gandhi Gram Sudhar Sabha*" (Village Welfare League, to preach and propagate Gandhian Principles in the villages).

7. "*Gandhi Khadi Prathisthan*" (to preach the cult of the spinning-wheel and Khadi or hand-woven cloth which is worshipped as a fetish).

8. "*Gandhi Wardha Talimi Sangha*" was also later organised to propagate Gandhian principles of religion, spiritualism, national economy and nationalism through a state-controlled system of compulsory primary education. Under the Wardha Scheme the entire system of education of the country was sought to be made subservient to the propagation of Gandhism (which was only a new form of Hinduism to the exclusion of all other religions).

9. "*Gandhi Gow Rakhsha Sabha*" (Cow Cult Association).

Gandhi is a great believer in the Hindu Cow Cult – the worship of the cow as a goddess. He has, therefore, made Gow Rakhsha Sabha and Cow Exhibition as an adjunct of the Congress.

10. Gandhi Seva Sangha is the Mother-Superior of all these associations. Mr. Gandhi addressing the Gandhi Seva Sangha says:

> "Spheres of action of these associations are limited. But yours is unlimited. Yours is a mighty tree of which these various associations may be called branches."

This is how he addressed his Mother-Superior, Not only that, but you will find that he appointed certain Deputies. Besides dividing the whole sub-continent of India into three definite parliamentary zones and appointing three parliamentary zone-dictators like their Nazi counterparts of District Fuehrers, they have also gradually developed permanent deputy Mahatmas in almost all provinces and zones. These deputy Mahatmas are the confirmed Cardinals of gandhism, believers in the Gandhian principles and Gandhian Dictatorship and carriers of his message, and executors of his orders. For instance, the permanent Secretary of the All-India Congress Office is "Acharya" Kripalani, a great exponent and theorist of Gandhism and author of the famous article, "The Gandhian Way." "Kaka" Kalekar is in charge of the Gandhian programme of Hindi and Nagri, Mr. Mashruwala is in charge of the Grand Council of Cardinals of Gandhism – The Gandhi Seva Sangha. Mr. Arya Nayakam and Mr. Kumarappa are in charge of the Wardha Education Scheme. Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, the Deputy Gandhi of Bengal, is in charge of Khaddi Pratisthan and Gandhi Ashram in Bengal. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Deputy Gandhi of Bihar, is in charge of the Sadaqat Ashrams in Bihar. The Frontier Gandhi, Abdul Ghaffar, is in charge of the Hinduising influences and emasculation of the martial Pathans.

the bugbear of the dreamers of Hindu raj. He is in charge of Gandhi Ashram in N.W. Frontier. Sardar Patel is the Deputy Gandhi in Gujrat, and Bombay. Shankar Rao Deo is the Deputy Gandhi of Maharashtra. Dr. Pattabhai Sitaramiah, another theorist and exponent of Gandism, is the Deputy Gandhi of the Andhra Province and so on and so forth.

Gandhi, Hitler and Mussolini

It is not my testimony. I am going to give you the testimony of the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All-India National Congress that took place at Tripuri. At that time the organisation had developed to a very great extent. I want the people to understand the facts and then come to their own conclusions. This is what Seth Govind Das, the Chairman of the Reception Committed, said:

> "Our Congress organisation can be compared with the Fascist Party of Italy, the Nazi Party of Germany and the Communist Party of Russia, although they have embraced violence and we are wedded to the creed of non-violence. All the inhabitants of Italy are not Fascists, the entire German public is not Nazi, neither are all Russians Communists; but they all have faith in their respective parties. Every Indian is not a four-anna member of the Congress, yet all Indians are with the Congress. Mahatma Gandhi occupies the same position among Congressmen as that held by Mussolini among Fascists, Hitler among Nazis and Stalin among Communists. The Congress, as at present constituted, is the creation of Mahatma Gandhi."

Now we are repeatedly told by this organisation in India that the Muslim League is a communal organisation. It is the Hindu leaders who have deliberately and with a set purpose destroyed any possible chance of adjustment between these two communities by well-planned and systematic manoeuvres and

by organising themselves. And then they call it nationalism,...nationalism, – democracy,...democracy!

I ask you: "Is this nationalism, is this democracy?" (Cries of No, No, from all corners) When we say "No," we have this experience for the last 25 years and unimpeachable evidence. But we have heard and felt hurt when in vain they say, "You have destroyed it. You talk of Nationalism and democracy". Either they can't understand or they are dishonest. Don't they understand it when we say that the parliamentary system of democracy is not suited to the genius of this country? Surely it is obvious. It is not a question of Democracy as a foundation of popular representative constitutional government.

Appeal to give up this pose

We have made it clear that there cannot be any room for democracy when you have a nation working on these lines. Not only have we evidence, but we have suffered and experienced that. When you talk of democracy, you are thoroughly dishonest. When you talk of democracy you mean Hindu raj, to dominate over the Muslims, a totally different nation, different in culture, different in everything. You yourself are working for Hindu nationalism and Hindu Raj.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we learned democracy 1,300 years ago. It is in our blood and it is as far away from the Hindu society as are the Arctic regions. You tell us that we are not democratic. It is we, who have learned the lesson of equality and brotherhood of man. Among you one caste will not take a cup of water from another. Is this democracy? Is this honesty. We are for democracy. But not the democracy of your conception which will turn the whole of India into a Gandhi Ashram or one society and nation will by this permanent majority destroy another nation or society in permanent minority and all that is dear to the minority.

I give you these facts. I say, give up, give up this pose. You have made you bed. You may lie on it. Have your Hindu nationalism; have your democracy to your heart's content. Have your Hindustan if you can. I wish you God-speed. But I am not going, as long as there is life left in a single Mussalman, to have this Hindu raj. The Irish Nationalist Leader, Redmond, met Carson, the Ulster leader, and told him. "Look here, can't we come to some settlement? Why do you want to separate from Ireland? Mind you, there is not one-millionth part of the differences between the peoples of Ulster and Ireland." What was Carson's reply? "I do not want to be ruled by you." My reply to Mr. Gandhi is, "I do not want to be ruled by you."

This the position. I only appeal. If only my humble voice can reach the Hindu India, I appeal to them, "Give up this pose." You want freedom for the people of this land. I say not only for myself but for all Mussalmans. Give up what seems a boyhood's dream of some of the Hindu leaders and what has been their manhood's aim. You have failed. Thank God, you have failed. Let us close that chapter. Even nations who have killed millions of each other – which we have not yet done – who may be the bitterest enemies to-day may become friends tomorrow. This is politics. If your leaders are on this path, as I say they are, and if you do not approve of it, it is your responsibility, the responsibility of the Hindu public, to come forward and say "Stop this internecine war; declare a truce; let us sit as equals and come to a settlement." That is now the problem. I ask you – I may be wrong – how can you keep on saying that it is the British Government who has kept us apart? How can you go on singing this same song – I am not holding any brief for the British Government. I shall have to say something about them when I come to it.

I am trying to reason with my own people in this land. It serves no useful purpose to say that the British are not wanting an agreement between us. Of course, I grant that the British

take advantage of our folly. But we have devices of our own, which are better than any which the British can fashion to keep us disunited. When we have had this notice a million times that it was the policy of the British in India to divide and rule, why can't we unite and get the British out? Why can't we do it in spite of them? Therefore, I say it is no use appealing to other nations of the world.

The different nations of the world can only show us sympathy in our demand to be free and self-governing. They will, of course, do whatever they can. But what is the use of appealing to other nations to settle our affairs? How can anybody do it? Are they going to run the government here? Are they going to send representatives from America to your Parliament and see that your Parliament is carried on properly? Will any other country send members to your Legislature and see that the Legislature functions properly? If they do, then we will be exactly where we are. It will be your representatives, it will be your cabinet that will be functioning. Therefore, I say, that our destiny is in our own hands. Specially when obstacles are put in our way, it is all the more reason why we should come to an agreement in spite of them.

Nehru's Double Role.

Now we come to the recent events. I do not want to add anything more than our resolution with regard to the proposal that Sir Stafford Cripps brought to India on behalf of His Majesty's Government. Although the final decision of the League was taken after the Allahabad Session, you know the reasons and grounds, and I do not want to take up your time and repeat them. The Cripps' proposals were not acceptable, of course, to us and to the Congress for different reasons. So far as the Congress is concerned, even from his last speech that Mr. Gandhi made, it is clear that he was not only opposed to the Pakistan Scheme but considered that it was a sin. He cannot use

a stronger word – if you know Mr. Gandhi, mind you, it is not a crime, it is a sin, that is, you will be damned in this world as well as in the next if you talk of Pakistan. While it was given out that the Cripps' proposals were not acceptable to the Congress – I know nothing of what actually happened between Cripps and the Congress – so far as the public are concerned, it was said that the proposals were rejected on the ground, first of the veto and then of the defence portfolio. Well about the same time when this controversy was going on between Sir Stafford Cripps and the Congress, Pandit Jawaharalal Nehru in an article sent by wireless to America and which was published in the "New York Times" of July 19, 1942, says:

> "Thirty years ago the British Government introduced the principle of separate religious electorates in India, a fatal thing which has come in the way of development of political parties. Now they have tried to introduce the idea of partitioning India not only into two but possibly many separate parts. This was one of the reasons which led to bitter resentment of the Cripps' proposals. The All-India Congress could not agree to this."

Was it on the question of veto or was it on the ground of the defence portfolio? Or was it that the All-India Congress would not agree to any idea of Pakistan? To this country is given one version and to America another! Americans are propagandists themselves. But I think they must realise and fully realise that they are no better propagandists than the Indian National Congress.

Civil Disobedience

Well, after that you come to Individual Civil Disobedience. Not for any political purpose but it was only for the freedom of speech. Now what liberty of speech do you want? – liberty of speech to preach and to advocate in every possible

way to prevent war efforts? I think even if it was our own government, if I had any say in the matter, and if an organisation, the most powerful organisation in the country, with all its resources wanted to be let loose to preach against the war effort I would not tolerate it. It would put them in jail. But if it was a conscientious object or I could understand that.

How can you expect any government, much less a foreign government, to allow this to be carried on? Let us take commonsense view of it. Was it really intended to vindicate freedom of speech or was it intended not only to prevent war effort but also to embarrass and coerce the British Government to concede their demand? In the meantime Mr. Gandhi was saying that he would never launch his Civil Disobedience movement because it would be suicidal. But mind you Mr. Gandhi said, he was never going to launch Civil Disobedience movement because it would be against the wishes of the Muslim League. He had been saying, for the last 22 years, that he lived for Hindu-Muslim unity and that it was the sole aim of his life, and without Hindu-Muslim unity they could never achieve freedom. In July last year when he struck upon a new technique, an entirely new technique, it was not then suicidal to ignore the Muslim League and whether the Muslim League comes in or not. he revised his declarations of 22 years that there could be no Swaraj, no freedom without Hindu-Muslim unity. It is all thrown to the wind suddenly, when Mr. Gandhi lays down the policy and programme in the famous resolution of 8th August. What is it? "Quit India." Look at the enormity! Don't care, don't care what these 100 million people of this country have to say! I am going to bend this Government to surrender to my desire! The British said – and mind you, I don't take everything they say to be correct – they said: "In resisting the Congress we are really protecting you and safeguarding your interests, because if we were to surrender to the demands of the Congress it would be at your risk and sacrifice." But the Mussalmans say: "We

don't believe that you love us so much." We know it suits them and they are taking the fullest advantage of the situation, because if there is any agreement between Hindus and Muslims then they know the net result of that would be parting with power. They say they are too anxious to part with power but we do not agree in uniting. If we cannot secure power as a United India then let us take it as divided India.

The Cockpit of a Feud

Now let me tell you, Ladies and Gentlemen – and here I tell you, if my humble voice reaches the Hindu public, to carefully consider whether I am right or wrong. I will put it as frankly as possible. The British policy in this subcontinent has been for nearly 100 years based on their conviction that the Muslims and Hindus will never agree and if by some means or other they enter into an agreement by their influence or pressure then it will be nothing but a cockpit of feud beneath the umbrella of a United India with the Englishman on the top. Therefor the Britisher, with his far-sighted vision, has followed a policy and taken us on this line of a united democratic India – I don't think they have given it up yet – the line of a United India and a democratic supremacy parliamentary system of government. The Britishers know that if we are kept on that line and are allowed to frame a constitution as a democratically united India we would never come to an agreement without their arbitration; it is the only way to prolong their lease of supremacy. When you have quarrelled and broken each other's heads then the monkey will come in to do justice between two cats. That is the reason why there being a strong diehard British school of thought, our friends who happen to be at the head of the Government of India today (– the great man Lord Linligthgow, the Viceroy and Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India who are a *pucca* diehard brand) are still dangling the carrot before the donkey by saying that geographically India is one. The other great man in London has suddenly discovered

that historically India was united under Akbar.

My friends, I have no ill-will against the Hindus. I want you to know that if by any miracle you can come to a constitutionally united democratic India, you can only do so, so far as the British India is concerned.

Indian States

Let me tell you that the Britishers know that we will have to get over another hurdle – the biggest hurdle – namely, the Indian States. You will find so many hurdles – 1,2,3 and 4. You are asked to get over these hurdles and the last hurdle is the most difficult one to get over. You may think as much as you like. The policy that the British Government have pursued for nearly 100 years leads to this. Not only they have somehow or other made you miss the bus, but they have put you in the wrong bus. Now do not allow yourselves to be bamboozled and fooled any longer. It is nearly a century. I say to the Hindus – and the Britishers know it better than anybody else – that the quickest way for the freedom of the peoples, both Hindus and Muslims, is Pakistan. It may come in my life-time or not (cries heard from all corners: It will, it will') you will remember these words of mine. I say this with no ill-will or offence. Some nations have killed millions of each other. That is not permanent. Any enemy of today is a friend of tomorrow. That is life. That is history.

So I say this with a clear conscience. My profound regret is that it is the Congress and its Hindu leadership that are holding up the achievement of the freedom of both the Hindus and the Mussalmans. Our conscience is clear. I appeal to the Hindu public and Hindu leaders: Review and revise your policy. A lot of propaganda, false propaganda, is being carried on by the Congress, and recently the appeals and statements they have published are fundamentally wrong.

The Congress position has been this from the start up to

August 8 – that the policy and demand for Pakistan is an untruth. In his correspondence with the Viceroy Mr. Gandhi had forgotten to mention this point altogether, and hence he puts this in a post-script. "The Government have evidently ignored or overlooked the very material fact that the Congress by its August resolution asked nothing for itself. All its demands were for the whole people. As you should be aware the Congress was willing and prepared for the Government inviting Quaid-e-Azam Mr. Jinnah to form a National Government subject to such agreed adjustments as may be necessary for the duration of the war, such Government being responsible to a duly elected assembly."

Am I wrong?

This is Mr. Gandhi's language. The whole crux of this proposal is that he wants such a government as will be responsible to a duly elected assembly. I ask you: what is left if this is carried out? Is there any doubt that Lord Linlithgow will be immediately turned into a constitutional Co-Governor-General or he might get a kick? The India Office will be abolished; the office of the Secretary of State will be abolished and the British Parliament will have no say in India. This central constitution can only be brought into effect by repealing the present constitution completely and substituting another. If I am wrong I shall stand corrected. Once the present central foundation structure is gone the surrounding provincial structure cannot last. What about the provinces? Are they to remain under the Governor? Are they to remain under the present constitution? Therefore you must overhaul, repeal the present constitution and undertake framing of an entirely new constitution for the whole of India including Indian states. We are asked: what is wrong in that? Pakistan is only to be postponed. The answer is that the moment you accept and undertake this position on the basis of Mr. Gandi's proposal, Pakistan demand is torpedoed by our consent; the framing of a

new constitution on the lines suggested by Mr. Gandhi would lead to the bitterest controversies if any such attempt were made – to say nothing about who was to be authorised to frame such a constitution. Therefore the position of the congress is exactly the same as ever. Only it is put in different words and in a different language but it means Hindu Raj on an *Akhand Hindustan* basis – a position which we can never accept.

Nobody would welcome it more than myself if Mr. Gandhi is even now really willing to come to a settlement with the Muslim League on the basis of Pakistan. Let me tell you that it will be the greatest day for both for the Hindus and the Mussalmans. If he has made up his mind, what is there to prevent Mr. Gandhi from writing direct to me? He is writing letters to the Viceroy. Why does he not write to me direct? Who is there that can prevent him from doing so? What is the use of going to the Viceroy and leading deputations and carrying on correspondence? Who is to prevent Mr. Gandhi to-day? I cannot believe for a single moment – strong as this Government may be in this country – you may say anything you like against this Government – I cannot believe that they will have the daring to stop such a letter if it is sent to me.

It will be a very serious thing, indeed, if such a thing is done by the government. But I do not see evidence of any kind of change of policy on the part of Mr. Gandhi or the Congress or the Hindu leadership.

I am told that we should do something. As far as my information goes, there in no change. What are we to do? When I was invited to the so-called No-Party Conference, I said to Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya that I did not want to attend the conference. I gave my reasons for it. I do not want to attack them in any way. I do not want to create any unnecessary bitterness. We know, of course, that they have no following – but they are men who occupy some position in life, men who have some

experience – may be, they are our political opponents. But once they were in the forefront, in the vanguard of the political movement in the country – these gentlemen could have adopted a more effective method of tackling this question than the resolution they passed and the procedure they adopted. But great men also make mistakes. Mr. Gandhi gets all the information, all the newspapers and knows and understands what is going on. If there is any change of heart on his part, he has only to drop me a few lines, when, I assure you, the Muslim League will not fail, whatever may have been our controversies in the past.

The hardest nut to crack

Now I come to the Britishers. They are the hardest nut to crack. What is their position? Their position is this. The Congress is a rebel organisation. It is guilty of high treason. They are the enemies of the Government and the Crown. Therefore no truck with them. They are only one party. But the overwhelming majority of the people of India are not with the Congress, but are with the British Government. What do the recent statements of the Premier say? What does the press in London say? The Sunday Chronicle in a leader says: "Primer Minister Churchill's message praising the gallantry of the Indian soldiers, will find an echo in the heart of the British nation." Where is the echo? Mr. Churchill went into mathematical figures and he made out that the overwhelming majority of the people of India were not with the Congress. So far as the Muslim League is concerned there is not the slightest doubt, we have kept aloof and, thank God, we have kept aloof because we are between the devil and the deep sea. As I said earlier, I am not satisfied with the British who say that they are fighting the Congress to protect us and the interests of the minorities. They say they are ready and willing and in fact are dying to part with power. The Viceroy made such references during the Christmas week at Calcutta. Having declared the Congress as an outlaw,

what do the British say to others? They say: "How can we ignore Congress?" In that case, don't you see that not only is nobody going to believe you, but by your own admission, you are proclaiming that your anxiety, your desire, your ardent desire to move in the direction of handing over power provisionally, has been successfully held up by a rebel organisation – the Congress. It is a confession of failure on their part. Either the people of India are at the back of the Congress or they are not. If the overwhelming majority are not – as the 100 million Mussalmans are certainly not – then what is the answer to the rest of India? They say, "We can't do anything because this rebel organisation has paralysed us. We can only praise your services when you die on the battlefield and no more." Is this an honest attitude.

From this attitude can anyone believe that there is a real honest desire to transfer power? Times out of number we have made it clear. But we are ignored; our party is ignored because it suits them. We are, on the contrary, accused of not helping the war effort and we are very often threatened by this very Government that "those who are not with us are against us." Now I say, Ladies and Gentlemen, so far as the Muslim India is concerned, so far as we the Mussalmans are concerned, our cup of bitterness is reaching the brimful.

If they have got any honest and capable agents they ought to be kept informed in London. I once more draw the attention of the British Government to this fact. It is a very serious situation indeed and I inform them from this platform that the cup of bitterness, disappointment – not to use any stronger language – at the shabby treatment meted out to Muslim India is a danger to them. you cannot continue like this. Therefore reconsider your position. What is our demand? Make a declaration. The Muslim League calls upon the British Government to come forward without any further delay with an unequivocal declaration guaranteeing to the Mussalmans the right of self-determination and to pledge themselves that they

will abide by a verdict of a plebiscite on the lines of the resolution passed at the Muslim League sessions in Lahore in 1940.

Attitude to the war

The Muslim League has been ready and is still ready and willing to consider any proposals and negotiate with any party on a footing of equality for the setting up of a provisional government at the Centre in order to mobilise the resources of the country for the purpose of defence of India and the successful prosecution of the war. This resolution was passed at Bombay on August 20, 1942. That has been so far completely ignored. Now we are, in this war, kept in the position of mere spectators. I have said it once and I say it again on this occasion that whatever may be our views and opinions, there is not the slightest doubt that – a fact is a fact – India is in the war. Being in the war, whose interest is greater now? Is it more in the interest of the Britisher or is it in the interest of the United Nations who are in it like America or is it more in our interests that we should not be reduced to mere helpless spectators by one device or the other, by one manoeuvre or the other, by one excuse or the other and keep the 100 million as they are to carry on without their co-operation? They are making a great mistake. They are not out of wood yet. Let me tell you as I have said very often: Our American friends can go to New York or Chicago if they are beaten and the British can go to London. And further I can say that their country is not going to be ruled by Hitler or Mussolini or Mikado. That, to my mind, is inconceivable. It may happen that America may be reduced to a second-rate power after the war. That is the danger. But their danger does not go to the length that their country might be ruled by any other foreign power. What is my position? It is this, if this war is lost, there is no other power. Either Japan or Hitler will come to this country and we will come under the jackboot of Hitler or Tojo. I have no Chicago or London to go to.

What about us? Who is more interested to defend this country and prosecute this war – it is not a sentimental thing – I say, nobody more than we. It is we who will suffer the ravages of war and destruction and devastation of our homes and hearths in Muslim zones in the east and west which are the immediate targets of the enemy. Who is more likely to lose, who is more likely to suffer than we? Who is more interested in defending India? It is thoroughly dishonest for the British to say that we are non-cooperating and it is more dishonest to say that we are not co-operating. The Muslim League says, "We cannot co-operate because you want us to come in as mere camp-followers. What are the prospects for us? What will be the fruits of victory for us, when we have given our money, our-blood and everything? If we are defeated, Japan or Germany will come. If we win we are just camp-followers and may get a *bakhsheesh* in the end. Is this an incentive to co-operation? Can any honourable, self-respecting or organised nation accept that position? That is the picture. Therefore either they have blundered and are blundering or really they do not want to part with power. They are taking the chance as a gambler does, saying to themselves: "If we win, we will keep them where they are. If we lose then after us the deluge! "Apres nous le deluge."

I do not want to say anything more about Pakistan. There is no difficulty in understanding Pakistan. Even outsiders have understood it. Again, it reminded me of Gokhale when Major Yeats Brown in his new book says: "Let us put ourselves in Muslim slippers." Here is the passage from his book*:

> "Let us put ourselves in Muslim slippers. We British would consider ourselves aggrieved if some world-improving superman or super-government were to decree that we should be ruled by an All-Europe Government (no doubt with safe-guards) with Teutons

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* "The Indian Pageant".

as the dominant race – or Slavs if you prefer – because we were a minority in Europe."

Then he says further:

"Even if this Super-Government consisted of supermen of infinite strength and wisdom, we should submit to it only just so long as we had not the strength to throw off the shackle. And if the superman showed signs of doubting their own decision, yet continued to asseverate before the world that they had offered freedom to all Europe, that it was now incumbent on us to find a solution to the difficulty, we should reply as the Muslim League has that such freedom was a farce."

May I add here that Mr. Gandhi, the "superman" precisely wants *Akhand* Hindustan and Muslim India, cannot and will not, agree to this demand. What would the Englishman say? Will he then say: "Smaller nations cannot exist? We are in a small island: only 35 million people. They are Teuton brothers, the Germans are 80 million." If a proposal was made that they should have one government would the English agree? What is the difference between an Englishman and a German? To begin with they are of the Anglo-Saxon race and all Christians. Their dress is not different. Their calendar is not different. Their language and jurisprudence and culture are not very much different. Their architecture, art, music and civilisation are not different. But what would an Englishman say? What would Canada say, if tomorrow a proposal was made that Canada and United States should become one federated government and Canada to become one of the units? Then what about others – North America and South America and South America? America is geographically one. So is Europe. So is Asia. What would they say if such a proposition was made? Therefore Major Yeats Brown says very rightly: "Put yourselves into Muslim slippers." Even if the government consisted of supermen of

infinite strength and wisdom we should not submit to it just as long as we do not have the strength to throw off the shackles. The Muslim League would however consider such a freedom as a farce.

Hindu Conception of Freedom

This is what is required to be considered by the Hindu leaders. The freedom they are offering to us is the freedom of their conception, the freedom of their determination, the freedom of their rule which is a farce. Well therefore there is no difficulty in understanding. First of all we have got to settle the basis. Do you want to really create some confusion and get some material for the purpose of propaganda? I have no doubt in my mind that a large body of us visualise Pakistan as people's government. Either you seize it by force or get it by agreement. But until you get it whether it is from a foreign nation or whether it is from our own government, the question as to the constitution and the form and system of a government does not arise. Let us take the resolution of France. The party that wanted to break the government had to have a Constituent Assembly after they seized the country. Take the case of Australia, that happened by agreement. Let us first agree that there shall be two Indias. Then the constitution-making body will be elected by some system from the people and it is the people who will choose their representatives to go to the constitution-making body. Therefore, I visualise a constitution-making body being set up and based on a very low franchise. It may be two annas, or it may be an adult ftanchise in Pakistan. You will elect your representatives to the constitution-making body. You may not know your power, you may not know how to use it. This would be your fault. But I am sure that democracy is in our blood. It is in our marrows. Only centuries of adverse circumstances have made the circulation of that blood cold. It has got frozen and your arteries have not been functioning. But, thank God, the blood is circulating again, thanks to the Muslim

League efforts. It will be a people's government.

Here I should like to give a warning to the landlord and capitalists who have flourished at our expense by a system which is so vicious, which is wicked and which makes them so selfish that it is difficult to reason with them. The exploitation of the masses has gone into their blood. They have forgotten the lesson of Islam. Greed and selfishness have made these people subordinate to the interests of others in order to fatten themselves. It is true we are not in power to-day. You go anywhere to the countryside. I have visited some villages. There are millions and millions of our people who hardly get one meal a day. Is this civilisation? Is this the aim of Pakistan? Do you visualise that millions have been exploited and cannot get one meal a day! If that is the idea of Pakistan, I would not have it. If they are wise they will have to adjust themselves to the new modern conditions of life. If they don't, God help them; we shall not help them. Therefore let us have faith in ourselves. Let us not falter or hesitate. That is our goal. We are going to achieve it. The constitution of Pakistan can only be framed by the Millat and the people. Prepare yourself and see that you frame a constitution which is to your heart's desire. There is a lot of misunderstanding. A lot of mischief is created. Is it going to be an Islamic government? Is it not begging the question? Is it not a question of passing a vote of censure on yourself? The constitution and the government will be what the people will decide. The only question is that of minorities.

The Minorities

The minorities are entitled to get a definite assurance and ask: "Where do we stand in the Pakistan that you visualise?" That is an issue of giving a definite and clear assurance to the minorities. We have done it. We have passed a resolution that the minorities must be protected and safeguarded to the fullest extent and as I said before any civilised government will do it

and ought to do it. So far as we are concerned our own history, our Prophet has given the clearest proof that non-Muslims have been treated not only justly and fairly but generously.

Now one more thing I wish to say about Pakistan is this. There is a new propaganda. We had many wicked propagandas like the one of cutting the mother cow into two, vivisection of mother India and all the rest. The latest argument which I think is really very wicked, of all, the most wicked of all. The argument is this: Mr. Jinnah is working for the territories in the north-west and eastern zones as "Pak" and the others as "Na-Pak" I have heard this from several quarters – and I was thunderstruck. You know what false propaganda can do. I think you will bear me out that when we passed the Lahore resolution we had not used the word "Pakistan". Who gave us this word? (cries of Hindus). Let me tell you it is their fault. The started damning this resolution on the ground that it was Pakistan. They are really ignorant of the Muslim movement. They fathered this word upon us. "Give the dog a bad name and then hang him." They shouted Pan-Islamism. When this was exploded then came the cry that "Pakistan" means alliance with other Muslim countries – Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran and Turkey – and they will grind down Hindu India? That is the deep game they are playing. You know perfectly well that Pakistan is a word which is really foisted upon us and fathered on us by some section of the Hindu press and also by the British press. Now our resolution was known for a long time as the Lahore resolution, popularly known as Pakistan. But how long are we to have this long phrase? Now I say to my Hindu and British friends: We thank you for giving us one word.

What is the origin of the word Pakistan? It was not the Muslim League or the Quaid-e-Azam who coined it. Some young fellows in London, who wanted a particular part of North-West to be separated from the rest of India, coined a name in 1929-30, started the idea, and called a zone Pakistan. They picked up the

letter "P" for Punjab, "A" for Afghan, (as the N.W.F.P. is known even to-day as Afghan), "K" for Kashmir, "S" for Sind, and "Tan" for Baluchistan. A name was coined. Thus, whatever may have been the meaning of this word at the time it is obvious that language of every civilised country invents new word – the word Pakistan has come to mean the Lahore Resolution. We wanted a word and it was foisted on us and we found it convenient to use it as a synonym for the Lahore Resolution.

Loose Federation

We are asked by some constitutional Pandits, why can't there by some sort of loose federation or confederation? People talk like that. I shall read out to you what I have written on this point, because it is important:

There are people who talk of some sort of a loose federation. There are people who talk of giving the widest freedom to the federating units and residuary powers resting with the units. But they forget the entire constitutional history of the various parts of the world. Federation however described and in whatever terms it is put, must ultimately deprive the federating units of the authority in all vital matters. The units, despite themselves, would be compelled to grant more and more powers to the central authority, until in the end a strong central government will have been established by the units themselves and they will be driven to do so by absolute necessity, if the basis of a federal government is accepted. Taking for instance the United States and her history, the Dominions of Canada and Australia, the Union of South Africa and Germany and of other lands where federal or confederal systems have been in existence, necessity has driven the component members and obliged them to increase and delegate their power and authority to the connecting link, namely, the central government.

These ideas are based entirely on a wrong footing, due to

want of correct understanding as to what really federation means or implies. It is not of much importance whether the units in theory have the residuary powers or the centre. But once the units accept the basis of federal central government it follows that it will inevitably and out of sheer necessity resolve itself into an all-powerful central authority and the units will be compelled to grant and delegate more and more powers to the centre, which also can hold these units as connecting links, more or less like a country council or glorified municipalities or feudatory states under the central authority.

We are opposed to any scheme, nor can we agree to any proposal, which has for its basis any conception or idea of a central government – federal or confederal – for it is bound to lead in the long run to the emasculation of the entire Muslim nation, economically, socially educationally, culturally, and politically and to the establishment of the Hindu majority raj in this sub-continent.

Therefore, remove from your mind any idea of some form of such a loose federation. There is no such thing as loose federation. When there is a central government and provincial governments they will go on tightening, tightening, and tightening until you are pulversied with regard to your powers as units.

South Africa

Well, Gentlemen, I think I have exhausted most of the points. There can be no doubt that the recent communal India legislation in South Africa is the blackest of the black. It is a pity that it should have been undertaken at this critical moment when, on the one hand, every unit of the empire is asked to contribute to the war effort and Indians were considered good enough to shed their blood and to stand side by side with white men or even to pick them up when they have fallen on the

battlefield to save their lives. But on the other hand, this badge of the horrible colour bar is the reward for one of the members of the Commonwealth who is contributing its share in blood which is acknowledged and praised duly.

I am astonished that the Secretary of State for India, when he was asked in the Parliament, should say that he had no statement to make. While the whole of India was condemning this bill, including even the Government of India, which is an agent of the British Government, can we not learn a lesson from this with regard to our internal political controversies?

The Indian States

There is one other point. Recently another unfortunate thing has come to my notice. Things are not at all well in the Indian States. I shall name only some of the States: Kashmir, Gwalior and Kotah. It seems to me that it is most unfortunate and I appeal to those States, where the Hindus are in the majority and where there is real Hindu power, to set a better example. Similarly I shall advise those Muslim States where the Mussalmans are in the majority that they should treat the minority community fairly and deal with their legitimate grievances suitably. It is not the way we will deal with the problem of India that wherever you happen to be in the majority you should wreak your vengeance or bitterness over the minority; you would be nearer the solution of the problem if you protect the minority. I hope that some satisfactory solution will be arrived at. I shall be equally grieved if the Muslim power or Muslim majorities ill-treat the Hindu minorities.

Conclusion

There remains finally one thing. I say to the Mussalmans, we have gone through nearly seven years of various vicissitudes and we have reached the stage where there is not the slightest doubt, that the 100 million Mussalmans are

with us. When I say 100 million Mussalmans, I mean that 99 per cent of them are with us – leaving aside some who are traitors, cranks, supermen or lunatics, an evil from which no society or nation is free. The way in which I see them now is that the phoenix-like rise and regeneration of Muslim India from the very ashes of its ruination after the terrible destruction in India in the 18th and the 19th centuries is a miracle. The people who had lost everything and who were placed by Providence between the two stones of a mill, not only came into their own in a very short time but became, after the British, socially the most solid, militarily the most virile, and politically the most decisive factor in modern India.

March Forward

Now it is time to take up the constructive programme to build up this nation, so that it can march on the path of our goal of Pakistan. It is for you all to put your heads together, your Council of the All-India Muslim League, and undertake proper and systematic planning, I can only repeat once again, for educational uplift, social uplift, economic uplift, political uplift and cultural uplift of the nation. We as a nation have got to attempt this constructive programme. I hope you will be able to do it. In the meantime I will only conclude by saying: The goal is near, stand united, persevere and march forward".

"The All India Muslim League, Delhi Session, April 1943, Verbatum Report of the Presidential Address (Delivered Extempore) by Quaid-e-Azam Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah," Printed and Published by S. Shamsul Hassan, Assistant Secretary, All India Muslim League at Muslim League Printing Press, Daryaganj, Delhi, 1945, pp.1-41 & The Morning News, May 8-12, 1943.

586

Speech at the Concluding session of the All-India Muslim League, Delhi, April 26, 1943.

Mr. Jinnah in adjourning the Session declared that there was no map of Pakistan to which the Muslim League was committed, directly or indirectly. They were attempts by the individuals to which the League was not committed.

Similarly there was no scheme of Pakistan to which the League was committed directly or indirectly in anyway whatsoever except the Lahore Resolution. Mr. Jinnah said: "I know many attempts are being made by our opponents to father upon us some scheme or map and "hang the dog after giving it a 'badname.' I say give up these futile attempts."

With the approval of the House, Mr. Jinnah announced that the next session of the League will be held in Sind during Christmas.

Mr. Jinnah said that Delhi Session was a historic session held in a historic city and had passed a resolution, which was a turning point in their history. He was glad to say that session attracted biggest audience so far at any session of the League.

Mr. Jinnah adjourned the session "*sine die*". (A.P.I.)

The Star of India, April 26, 1943.

587

Statement on British Press reactions to his speech, Delhi, May 3, 1943.

"I have noticed some of the extracts from British press

giving their reactions to the Muslim League session held here recently. It is clear they have based their comments and criticism on the scrappy reports sent to them by their representatives; nevertheless, it is really a matter of regret that newspapers in Great Britain headed by the "*Times*" have taken the situation very lightly.

"The Viceroy is busy in India expanding his contracted Council and persisting in a move which has been a complete failure. I only wish it were possible for the editors of the newspapers in Great Britain to read the full text of my speech and our resolutions. Then they would realise that their comments were not only out of place, but were in utter ignorance of the real situation in India.

"The present policy of the British Government in ignoring everybody is not the way to win this war, and the sooner that fact is realised the better for everyone. If we lose this war, it will be due to the blundering policy of the British Government followed in this country. The food situation, the economic position, the handling of finance and currency in this country has reached the most acute state, and the complacent attitude adopted in regard to these matters is bound to create an unparalleled danger to the total effort, which is so essential to winning this war.

"The position of the Muslim League is that of realism, and I am rather surprised that newspapers in great Britain should have indulged in hackneyed phrases such as "party tactics" and "playing to the gallery." It only shows how badly Britain is informed about the situation in India."

AFM/KU/QA/Clip 12/p.57.

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Released to the Press names of the members of the League Working Committee, Bombay, May 17, 1943.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League has appointed Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League consisting 21 members.

The members are:- Sardar Bakhat Jamal Khan, N.W.F.P.; Sardar Mohd, Aurangzeb Khan, N.W.F.P.; Mr. G.M. Syed, Sind; Khan Bahadur Mohd Ayub Khurro, Sind; Iftikhar Hussain Khan, Punjab; Mr. S. Ismail Ibrahim Chundrigar, Bombay; Mr. Syed Abdur Rauf Shah, C.P.; Nawab Mohd Ismail Khan, U.P.; Raja of Mahmudabad, U.P.; Mr. Latifur Rahman Bihar; Hossain Imam, Bihar; Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury, Assam; Sir Nazimuddin, Bengal; Mr. Hasan Ispahani, Bengal; Maulana Mohd. Akram Khan, Bengal; Ghani Abdul Sattar Haji Eshak Seth, Madras; and Mr. Kazi Mohd. Isa, Baluchistan. (A.P.).

The Star of India, May 18, 1943.

589

Statement on Government communique regarding Mr. Gandhi's letter, Bombay, May 28, 1943.

"I have received a communication from the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated May 24, that Mr. Gandhi's letter merely expresses a wish to meet me, and this letter, Government have decided, cannot be forwarded to me.

"This letter of Mr. Gandhi can only be construed as a move on his part to embroil the Muslim League to come into

clash with the British Government solely for the purpose of helping his release, so that he would be free to do what he pleases thereafter.

"There is really no change of policy on the part of Mr. Gandhi and no genuine desire to meet the suggestions that I made in my speech during the session of the All-India Muslim League at Delhi. Although I have always been ready and willing to meet Mr. Gandhi or any other Hindu leader and shall be still glad to meet him, yet merely expressing his desire to meet me is not the kind of ephemeral letter that I suggested in my speech that Mr. Gandhi should write, and which has been now stopped by the Government.

No change of heart

"My speech was directed to meet the appeals that were made to me and are now being made by Hindu leaders, that the Muslim League should do something towards the solution of the deadlock, and my suggestions about the kind of letter that Mr. Gandhi should write were in response to those appeals, when I said that I myself saw no change of heart. There was no evidence of any change of policy on the part of Mr. Gandhi or Hindu leadership, and I referred to the recent correspondence that had passed between Mr. Gandhi and the Viceroy, which, on the contrary, showed that Mr. Gandhi fully maintained his stand of August 8, 1942.

"But, nevertheless, some of the responsible Hindu leaders pressed upon me that Mr. Gandhi has now realised that he had made a mistake and that he would be prepared to consider and retrace his step if he were given an opportunity to do so, and that he had changed his attitude towards Pakistan and would be willing to come to a settlement on the basis of Pakistan, but the British Government were preventing the Hindu-Muslim settlement by refusing people of position and standing to establish contact with him for this purpose. I,

therefore, suggested that if Mr. Gandhi were to write to me a letter indicating that he was prepared to retrace his steps and abandon his policy and programme culminating in the resolution of the A.I.C.C. of August 8, and was even now willing to come to a settlement with the Muslim League on the basis of Pakistan, we were willing to bury the past and forget it. I still believe that the Government will not dare to stop such a letter if it came from Mr. Gandhi.

"I regret that the Congress press, as usual, is indulging in cheep gibes and slogans based on the publication of isolated passages from my speech and even those are mutilated and important words are eliminated from them. This may serve as misleading and inimical propaganda but is not calculated to create a friendly atmosphere, which is essential. In my opinion the press and those who are indulging in various thoughtless statements are doing great disservice. (A.P.)

The Morning News, May 29-30, 1943.

590

Statement at a Press Conference, Karachi, June 4, 1943

The position he had taken up following the refusal of the Government of India to forward to him Mr. Gandhi's letter was explained at a press conference at Karachi by Mr. Jinnah.

Mr. Jinnah pointed out that ever since the Congress resolution of 8th August last he had repeatedly stated that the Congress decision was not a rebellion against the British Government only but an internecine war, a declaration of war against the Muslim League and Muslim India, and that, unless the Congress dropped its pistol, there was no chance of a

settlement. "What is the Congress resolution of 8th August," asked Mr. Jinnah and said, "It lays down a demand for immediate independence, that a national provisional government should be set up and a federal all-India constitution should be framed, that the British Government should quit India, and that the national government would frame the constitution, and that if this demand was not conceded the Congress had decided to launch civil disobedience. If such a demand was accepted it would be destructive to the Muslim demand for Pakistan."

Reading passages from his address before the Muslim League in April, Mr. Jinnah maintained that the letter sent by Mr. Gandhi was not the kind of letter he had envisaged when he had stated that "the Government would not have the daring to stop such a letter" and that the position would be very serious, indeed, if they did so.

Mr. Jinnah complained that his April speech had been twisted so completely by a section of the press and by some statements issued thereafter as to make one feel that the organised Hindu press will not give a fair chance or a fair deal to any one who does not surrender completely to the wishes of the Congress and of Mr. Gandhi. If you want to black it out you may do so, said Mr. Jinnah, but my position is as clear as daylight.

At least two Hindus, continued Mr. Jinnah, had the frankness to appreciate his point of view. They were Mr. P.C. Joshi, Secretary of the All-India Communist Party, who had pointed out that Mr. Gandhi's letter had left a loophole by not indicating whether he was going to meet the Muslim League point of view and Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya who in his recent statement had conceded that his (Mr. Jinnah's) offer had not been accepted and, therefore, ordinarily it would lapse – although with due respects to Mr. Rajagopalacharya Mr. Jinnah

did not see the distinction the latter had drawn between national and other affairs.

Replying to a questioner who suggested that Mr. Jinnah could not have known the full contents of Mr. Gandhi's letter, Mr. Jinnah said that apparently Gandhi had merely expressed a desire to meet him and nothing more. At present I have no reason to doubt this information, said Mr. Jinnah.

Mr. Jinnah's replies to further questions on the subject of seeking a Congress-League agreement did not go beyond what he had stated in his initial statement and a correspondent asked, "Does it mean that the deadlock must continue as long as the war lasts?" To this Mr. Jinnah only replied with a gesture indicative of helplessness so far as he was concerned.

Mr. Jinnah told another correspondent that the question about a certain prominent Sind Muslim Leaguer having accepted a position in the National War Front at an honorarium of Rs.1,000 a month was nobody's affair but that of the Muslim League.

Asked to say something regrading the reported statement of the Premier of the Punjab that the Sikander-Jinnah pact was still in force, Mr. Jinnah said that it is a question which concerned the Punjab and the Muslim League. "Why do you bother about it?" and many things that are reported in the press are not always correct.

When more questions concerning Mr. Gandhi's letter were put to him Mr. Jinnah said, "I am not here to accuse Mr. Gandhi at the moment. I am concerned just now only to meet the misrepresentation of my speech at Delhi."

He also said: I do not want to make things more bitter and follow the example of the twisted mentality of a section of

the Hindu press. I am, therefore, refraining from saying things which I might otherwise have said. (A.P.)

The Dawn, June 6, 1943.

591

Address to the annual general meeting of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, Karachi, June 13, 1943.

"Muslims will be in the same position as the Indian States under the British rule at present and it will mean only a change of masters for the Muslims if the British Government concedes the demand of independence of the Congress without the Muslims to have Pakistan in the Muslim majority provinces." said Mr. Jinnah.

Addressing the meeting in Urdu, Mr. Jinnah stated that when he visited Sind in 1936 about the time when provincial autonomy was inaugurated in the country, the Muslims here were in the background in money and in education. In 1938 and 1940, during his second and third visits, he found some enlightened men amongst them but now he found that there was great political awakening and political consciousness amongst them.

He was happy to find that out of the 34 Muslim M.L.A's, 31 of them were under the League banner and he was confident that it would not be long before the remainder joined the League.

Demand for Pakistan

Referring to the clamour for Pakistan by the Muslims of India, he stated that even Hindu friends and enemies had

admitted that he had initiated political consciousness amongst the Muslims which had now reached a high pitch. Seven years back, the Muslims were only a crowd, but now they were a community. But, he warned the Muslims, they must not be satisfied merely with provincial autonomy. They should not be happy that there were some Muslim League ministries. They had to take advantage of what was offering, but they must continue to strive for Pakistan.

The Muslim demand for Pakistan was reasonable in the extreme, he stated. There were 10 crores of Muslims in India and there was nothing wrong if they asked for independence in their own majority provinces on the basis of their religion and their culture. They also acknowledge the right of the Hindus to self-Government in the remaining three fourths of India on a similar basis.

Were the Muslims to be denied this right of change of masters – from the Britishers to the Congressmen. They would be in the same position then as the Indian States are at present. Even the highest and the most powerful Maharaja could not defy the command of the Viceroy, he added.

The Hindus and the Congress intoxicated with the prospect of becoming rulers of India, had deliberately shut their eyes to the right of the Muslims to self-determination and to self government, but the time was not far off when they would have to concede the demand of the Muslims, for no sacrifice would be too great to attain the goal of Pakistan, he concluded. (F.O.C.)

Newspaper Clipping dated June 14, 1943.
AFM/KU/QA/Clip 12/p. 62.

592

Speech at a meeting of the Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, Karachi, June 17, 1943.

Addressing the Council of the Provincial Muslim League, Mr. M. A. Jinnah explained why Muslims were for Pakistan. He said, if a chance came and the British withdrew from India, in the *Akhand Hindustan* the Centre would be predominated by the Hindus and Provincial Autonomy, as far as the Provinces were concerned would be reduced to a farce inasmuch as they would be made to carry out the behests of the Government at the Centre. He added that the position of the Muslim majority provinces then could be compared to the present day India States which outwardly were independent but in reality had no power. In the latter's case the Viceroy and his Political Department were all in all. He remarked that they were not prepared to change British masters for the Hindus.

He further said that if the Hindus were anxious for independence the Muslims were in no way behind. But the Muslims wanted a real independence and could brook no interference from outside. This was only possible under Pakistan which gave the Muslims only one fourth of India. They did not grudge three fourths to the Hindus.

Referring to Sind he expressed satisfaction with the results achieved by the League in bringing political consciousness among Muslim masses. He urged unity of purpose in Muslim ranks and impressed that the principal aim of the Muslim League was to better the lot of the Muslim masses. (U.P.)

The Star of India, June 18, 1943.

593

Speech in reply to the Address presented to him at the opening ceremony of Sind Madressah College, Karachi, June 20, 1943.

Replying Mr. Jinnah recalled his days as a student in the small Madressah School which it then was nearly sixty years ago. Many a game he had played on that ground. He remembered every inch of it, he said, adding that though he was not much given to being sentimental, sentiments naturally affected him on the occasion.

Mr. Jinnah further said that institutions might be started by the efforts of an individual or two but there must be a continuity of growth by those who follow.

If any institution is to produce wonderful results, it should be properly managed and as a practical man he would like to tell them that the Muslim public should support the College to the hilt. It is money that makes the mare go and they should make the mare go by putting their hands into their pockets and coming out with donations, he said appealing to the audience for funds.

AFM/KU/QA/Clip 12/p. 62-B

594

Message to the Frontier Muslim Students' Federation on Iqbal Day, Karachi, June 20, 1943.

"It is a source of great encouragement to me that our people in your province have started to organise themselves. Strengthening yourself, really speaking, means strengthening borders of Pakistan, a thing which will enable us to achieve our

goal and thus maintain our freedom, honour, prestige and glory of Islam for which we are now fighting," says Mr. M. A. Jinnah in the course of a message to the Frontier Muslim Students' Federation (Peshawar) under whose auspices the Iqbal day was celebrated.

The Morning News, June 24, 1943.

595

Message to the people of Sind, Karachi, June 24, 1943.

"My message to the people of Sind is "Work together as a team for the good of all. Forget the past. Sink differences and exert for the welfare of the province".

The Morning News, June 26, 1943.

596

Speech on his arrival at Quetta, June 26, 1943

Mr M. A. Jinnah arrived at Quetta this morning. He was given an enthusiastic reception at the station and later taken in a procession through the decorated streets of the town. Several arches were erected on the route. Thousands of people participated in the procession which terminated at the office of the Provincial League.

Addressing the huge gathering from the balcony of the League office he said, "I am extremely grateful to you, the Mussalmans of Baluchistan, for having accorded me such a royal welcome. I find that you are in no way behind the other provinces of India. I appeal to you to stand united and strive to

achieve our cherished goal which is Pakistan. There is no power on earth which can deprive you of your right. What I have seen in Quetta today I shall always remember. I assure you today that Mussalmans of India have awakened and with them the Mussalmans of Baluchistan as well." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, June 27, 1943.

597

Speech at the flag - hoisting Ceremony, Quetta, July 2, 1943.

"I consider it as a great honour that I am unfurling this National Flag of ours to-day on the soil of Baluchistan. Every nation in the world has their own National Flag. For a long time the Muslim Nation in India had no flag of theirs but now, thank God, we have our own National Flag.

"The honour of this National Flag is in your hands and it is your duty to uphold the dignity of this Flag. Stand united under this Flag and make your sacrifices for the achievement of your final goal. I assure you our efforts would not be wasted. Just like other nations have their own Flag in their own territory, we shall get it flying up in our own Pakistan when we get it. I expect that you will make all the sacrifices under this Flag. I see that enough political awakening has come to Baluchistan and the next time I come, I am sure that I will find you ahead of other provinces. Baluchistan may be a small province but I assure you that it is the most important part of Pakistan and when we get Pakistan you will realise the important part your province will play in that Islamic Kingdom." (A.P.)

The Morning News, July 4, 1943.

598

Speech at the Baluchistan Muslim League Conference, Quetta, July 3, 1943.

(As reported by the Associated Press of India)*

"In a few years we have made the Muslims of India, who were a crowd, a nation. They were a scattered mass, disorganised and apathetic. The Muslim League has electrified and moved them from their stupor and knit them together. We have gone through the process of nationalistion and now we have one flag, one platform and one voice" - declared Mr. M. A. Jinnah, inaugurating the third session of the Baluchistan Muslim League.

Mr. Jinnah referred to the remarkable progress made by the Muslim League since 1937 and more particularly after the adoption of the Pakistan ideal in 1940.

He said: We have now Muslim League ministries in all the Muslim majority provinces – Bengal, the Punjab, Sind and N.W.F. Province – all engaged in social reforms and economic uplift. In Assam also the Ministry is dominated by the Muslim League. Never before in the history of India were the Muslims so well organised. But our journey has just begun.

Proceeding, Mr. Jinnah exhorted the Muslims of Baluchistan to shake off their lethargy and march in line with their nation. The Muslim League, he pointed out, was now growing stronger and stronger in their province also. This awakening of the people was the first foundation of nationalism. It is great to awaken a nation, greater to organise it and still greater to die for it. So get prepared and line yourselves up with the other provinces. Give up your mutual jealousies and sectional interests and differences over small things, petty

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* The full text of this speech follows next.

quarrels and tribal notions. If you do it, Baluchistan is sure to make progress and occupy a respectful place in India.

Advice to Nawabs

Calling upon the Nawabs of Baluchistan to read the signs of the time Mr. Jinnah said: Consider the present and the future. Show signs of your life. We ask you to realise your responsibility because you are in the position of natural leaders – realise your duty to your people. Awaken them and come into line with your people.

Referring to the present administration of Balcuhistan, Mr. Jinnah observed that it was high time that reforms were introduced in the province and the support of the people enlisted. The present administration, he regretted, was responsible for the criminal neglect of education. No civic progress had been made, nor any local self-government given to the people even in a place like Quetta. Cities far backward than Quetta had elected Municipalities and Local Boards.

I am going to make a full report on this subject to the Central Assembly Muslim League Party. But these difficulties, he said, must not discourage the people of Baluchistan. They must organise themselves and come under the banner of the Muslim League. The Muslims of all other provinces had joined the League and made it a powerful organisation. The Congress had been adopting subtle tactics to create rifts amongst the Muslims and had failed. But he asked, "When we do not want to corrupt the Hindus and create disruption amongst them then why do they not stop it? We want them to be constructive. Congressmen, give up your unscrupulous methods. You cannot build on falsehood and corruption."

Undeterred by the disruptionist tactics of their opponents, Mr. Jinnah concluded Muslims must go ahead to win their ideal of Pakistan. The minorities need have no fear of it.

We will create by justice a sense of security and confidence in them.

Another Version

Full Text of the speech

(We herewith reproduce in full the inaugural speech of Quaid-e-Azam, Mr. M. A. Jinnah delivered extempore at the third session of the Balcuhistan Provincial Muslim League held on 3rd July 1943 at Islamia High School, Quetta, under the Presidentship of Qazi Muhammad Isa, President, Baluchistan Provincial Muslim League.

We are grateful to Qazi Muhammad Isa for this marvellous speech of our beloved Quaid-e-Azam which shows the clear cut policy of the Muslim League. The speech, as far as we know, has not so far been published in any paper except a miserable summary sent by the News Agencies. We have always deplored the criminal neglect on our side of news by the News Agencies and we once again implore the Mussalmans to patronize their papers and make their only news agency – The Orient Press strong enough to stand against the Congress Press. Editor.)*

Mr. President, Members of the Conference, Ladies and and Gentlemen.

I thank you for the very great honour that you have done me in asking me to inaugurate this third Annual Conference of the Baluchistan Provincial Muslim League. You know that I had almost made up my mind to come to Baluchistan in 1941. But unfortunately just a few days before I

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* Dr. S.N.A. Jafri, Bar-at-Law, formerly Driector, Information Bureau, Government of India, was the editor of Muslim Weekly "*Onward*" Allahabad.

was to start from Bombay I was laid up and I was deeply disappointed, but I am glad that I am here today with you.

The Spade Work

Ladies and Gentlemen, Muslim League was revived in April, 1936 and from 1936 onwards we had to go through an enormous amount of spade work in 1936, 37, and 38. In 1940, we adopted the goal of Pakistan at Lahore, but since 1940, I will tell you what the League has done. But I need not worry you about the spade work that was done upto 1940. Since 1940 you know that the Muslim League has made the Mussalmans of India not only in one province or two provinces but throughout India out of what were only crowds a nation. We are going through the process of nationalising our people. We have one God, one Book, one Prophet, today you have got one flag, one platform, one goal and one voice of our people through the Muslim League. Muslim League has given you a first class newspaper in Delhi the like of which you never had before in the whole history of Muslim India for the last 200 years. Muslim League has established dominant Muslim League Ministries wherever we are in majority in Bengal, in Punjab, in Sind and N.W.F.P. You know that under the present constitution the powers are limited but within the limitation there are powers which, we can utilise to a very great advantage and we can bring about measures legislative and administrative in order to build up ameliorative and constructive programme, of social advancement, uplift and further augural, educational, economical and political life of our people.

Baluchistan

We are not in a majority in Assam but there Mussalmans are in dominant position and so there is a dominant Muslim Ministry in Assam. Muslim League has placed before you a clear cut goal of Pakistan. Muslim League has put before you a clear cut programme for the uplift and betterment of our people, socially, economically, culturally and politically.

This work accomplished within the last three or four years is admitted even by our opponents as remarkable and never known in the history of Muslim India before at least during the last two centuries. But Ladies and Gentlemen, we have to go a great way yet. We have yet a journey in front of us before we realise our goal of Pakistan but in the midst of all this that we have tried to build up and I had never forgotten Baluchistan. Before you ever thought that you will organise yourself even to this extent that you had during last three years Baluchistan was not out of our consideration. Baluchistan has not escaped our attention. In 1927 and in 1928 we formulated 14 points and one of the point was that Baluchistan should be given same consideration and it should be brought on the same footing as other Provinces in India. *Let me tell you my friends that Baluchistan is a historical place. It has got a wonderful history. You have, you will forgive me, lived the same life – you have not made progress with the world or even with India, you have still your own system, you have been indifferent to what was going on in the world.* You cannot expect to build up greatly depending upon external help. However anxious your brethren in other parts of India may be the foundation is here and you have to build on the foundation which means the people of Baluchistan, but we were wondering, we were generally puzzled and we did not know how to reach you.

Qazi Muhammad Isa

I wanted to awake you from your fast sleep and fortunately there came an incident and I met your president, Qazi Muhammad Isa on the race course of Bombay. I very seldom go to the races. I do not go even once in a year and some time not at all. But I do not know what it was that on that day urge came to me and I said let us go to the races and on the race course I met my young friend Qazi Muhammad Isa. I was more interested in Qazi Muhammad Isa than races. Then after that we met I cross examined him because remember I am a lawyer

and I have gone through forty years of practice and I said to myself here is a man and I was glad that Qazi Muhammad Isa immediately fell in with my ideas and promised to go back to Baluchistan and organise his people in Baluchistan. Ladies and Gentlemen, I am not in the habit of paying compliments to people. That was in 1939, we are today here in July 1943. I have watched him. I got myself in very close touch with Qazi Muhammad Isa with regard to Baluchistan and I think I am not exaggerating and I am not paying him any undue compliment but I think during these few years, he has served you, he has made every sacrifices to uphold the cause of his people and I see the result in front of you now. I ask you, in the history of Balcuhistan did you ever have any gathering as you have now in front of you here today? (Never, Never). Here the Muslims are backward in every way, educationally, economically, socially and culturally and today they are here in thousands and listening to my English speech. It is a remarkable thing that you have acquired this political spirit or rather I should say there has come an awakening. You have begun to feel what self reliance means, and what self respect means.

Muslim League

Today I find that in every Province Muslim stand erect. Muslim League is getting stronger and stronger and we have made every Muslim feel inner pride for his nation and consider it a privilege and honour to belong to this great organisation. The first foundation of nationalising people is as you know that you must create healthy social conditions. You must raise your people educationally and economically and you must create honour and pride in your people that they may feel from within that it is a great thing to belong to this Nation. It still great thing to make sacrifices for this Nation and it is still greater thing to die for this Nation. You are now coming into line with other Provinces, which are more advanced. We stand together on this platform under this flag work as comrades, as disciplined

soldiers in an army. Give up your individual conveniences or interests for the collective good of your jealousies and give up your defections, don't quarrel over small matters. Observe one rule that you are prepared to give up your individual conveniences or interests for the collective good of your Nation. If you organise yourself on these lines, Baluchistan, I tell you is going to play a very important part in the Pakistan scheme for which we are fighting and we are going to have it.

The Duties

Well Mr. President next thing I would say a word and I hope I shall not be misunderstood. You have got ancient system, which perhaps I can describe as a feudal system and which is full of defects. I say a word to Sardars, Nawabs and the Chiefs, you must realise that India is moving fast, the world is moving fast then you can cope with it. You, therefore, have to consider the time in which you are living and you must, if you want to serve your people, if you want to serve your Nation, you must adopt yourself to the time in which you are living and the time that is coming hereafter. Muslim League has no desire, nor it is the policy of the Muslim League that we should do anything to harm the Sardars, Nawabs, and Chiefs. We ask you to realise your responsibilities, realise your own duties and come into line with your people and come into line with your Nation that is now being built up not only in Baluchistan but all over India. I am sure, that if you will carefully consider, you will agree with me and for the few days that I have been here I met many Sardars, many prominent men and I know that their hearts are with us and for the Muslim League and Muslim Nation.

Hindu Congress

Well Mr. President, there is another thing to which I must draw your attention and it is this. This Hindu Congress has done its very best to corrupt our men, to mislead our people and to do everything in their power with their organised press

propaganda, nay false propaganda during the last six years to cause divisions among the Mussalmans and they have wasted lacs of rupees. We had the Congressite Nationalist Muslims inside the camp of the Congress and I am glad to say that now they are only reduced to number which we can count on our fingers. We had Jamiatul Ulemas, they were duped by various methods. Thank God that they do not cut much ice now. They started Muslim Mass Contact. They put up their candidates in Bye-elections and threw down challenges. Thank God, they lost almost every election and bye-election and their candidates many times even forfeited their deposits. The Ahrars number is reduced as I say to almost a very small body. Every body that they created and set up against us lost their influence or power and the Mussalmans were not willing to listen to them or be misled by them any more.

The Momins

Some time ago they created a new body called the Azad Muslim Conference and spent lacs of rupees but that too went to sleep. Some Muslims who claim to belong to Momins class which means weavers class applied for the League ticket for the Bihar election, some years ago and we refused to give them tickets because they were not fit. There are people who become your enemies, why, because you do not please them or you do not put them where they want to be and the personal ill-will begins, now these few gentlemen happen to be the members of the Momin Community. The Momins as such have got no political organisation. Thousands of Momins are with the League, take the case of elections, take our gatherings and you find that thousands of Momins, flock round Muslim League flag. But there is the Hindu organised press and they put up these men on behalf of the Momins and they say that the Momins are not with the Muslims League and they denounce Pakistan and recently it was given out that Momins are 45 millions of Mussalmans and every kind of misrepresentation and false

propaganda was carried on. Questions were put in the House of Commons that Muslims were against Pakistan because of these few adventurers in the name of Momins passing resolutions and getting the widest publicity given to them by the Congress press. The only mistake was that they were not 45 millions but they were all told in the whole of India 5 millions. I am telling you all these facts for you to see how the Congress try to divide Muslims and cause disruption among the Mussalmans. This game is not yet given up and I do not know whether you are fully aware of this. It is simmering in your own Province of Baluchistan, but I hope you will finish it completely. *We do not want divisions among Hindus, we do not want to cause disruption among the Hindus, we on the contrary say that we are concerned with the Mussalmans. Muslim League is the only authoritative and representative organisation of the Mussalmans. We do not interfere with them, we do not vilify them or misrepresent them. I say once more from this platform, I say to the Congressmen, give up this unscrupulous and unprincipled methods of yours. Give up your methods of corruption, false propaganda and Hypocracy.*

Criminal Neglect

Next thing I want to tell you is this that now, that you are awake and you are beginning to see things, you very rightly feel because the light is coming to you and you very naturally find that so far as this administration is concerned, justice is not done to you to develop and advance the education of the people of this Province. I see that your Subject Committee has passed a resolution putting forward your views with regard to the difficulties that are created in the development and the progress of education. It is neglected and I hope that it is high time that the head of the administration in this Province will see that there has been a criminal neglect of the education of the people in this Province. This town is not a small town, I have seen many other towns in every part of India, even in some villages they are better off. Well any how you have now realised, you

have to fight for it and in your fight for educational advancement and educational developments in this Province, believe me the All-India Muslim League will be with you and I am going to make a full report of what I have gathered here to the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature because after all Baluchistan is controlled and governed by the Government of India through its Agency, who is responsible for the administration of Baluchistan. There we shall have to thrash out this question but in the meantime I hope the people here will apply their mind to the legitimate grievances and the demands which are embodied in the resolution placed before you and will press upon local authorities for their consideration.

Quetta

Mr. President there are towns in other parts of India which are much worse than what I have seen in Quetta and yet they enjoy certain amount of civic life. What is the progress of civic life and the Municipality of Quetta? It is no progress of any kind whatsoever. Surely citizens of this town are entitled to have their proper share in the civic life and the municipality of this town, but I fail to see why this town is kept in moribund condition where as in other Provinces they have got even district board, local boards and Municipalities. It is an amazing thing in the history why this Province is not allowed to grow its civic and municipal life.

The Minorities in Baluchistan

Now I want to say a few words about the Minorities in Balcuhistan. We have got Sikhs, Hindus and other Non-Mulsims, Christians and so on. Mr. President, we are not in the habit of saying things which we do not mean or meaning one thing and saying another. We have made our position clear and now that I am here I think if it is necessary and if the assurance was needed – I would repeat in my position as the President of the All India Muslim League. I say to the minorities in

Baluchistan we will see that the minorities are dealt with fairly and justly. We shall see that there is created amongst the minorities a sense of security and confidence. That is I think the paramount duty of any civilized government. We have the highest traditions behind us and the fact is regarded by the historians not Muslims but non-Muslim historians that generally wherever there has been a Muslim rule the minorities have been treated justly and fairly and you have got the latest example of Egypt. In Egypt Copts are only 5 per cent and the Mussalmans there are in overwhelming majority of 95 per cent but you go and see how they are treated. They are holding the highest position under the Egyptian government, and their share in the services is more than 30 per cent now at the present moment. Therefore, all this false propaganda that is created by the Congress, is to frighten the minorities. They say, what will happen to the minorities if the majority Muslim rule is established? Thereby implying all sorts of horrors, it is one more method of Congress propaganda to set the minorities by the ear against the Mussalmans.

The Sikhs

I ask the minorities except and other than high caste Hindus what will be your position if the Hindu Raj is established? What will happen to our Sikh friends? Where will they be? They will be drop in the ocean. What will happen to Christians who are 5 or 6 millions. What will happen to the schedule caste who are untouchables and are sixty millions. These are things I want you to consider. Of course high caste Hindus will be alright because it will be nothing but the high caste Hindu Raj.

Pakistan

There is one more thing what I want to tell you and it is with regards to Pakistan. Mr. President so much confusion is created by our opponents because they have got powerful

machinery, money and the press and there are a few doubters. I think myself that there is now no doubt that a solid majority of the Mussalmans have understood what Pakistan means. There is no doubt about it, but there are others who are misled by the agents of our opponents who deliberately act as quizzling and fifth columnist and they puzzle some of our people. Now I put it before you. It does not require a great lawyer or a great constitutionalist, if you will apply your mind you will understand within a very short time what Pakistan means. I have put questions to all sorts of our people, Mussalmans, on the country side, and at different gatherings, at railway stations, I have asked them what do you mean by Pakistan and I tell you that I was astonished at the *Kisans* and railway workers when they give me their answers. It is a common sense answer and quite sound. For instance I asked at one of the railway station at a gathering of nearly 500 people, what do you understand by Pakistan? The answer came from among those people one man said, "by Pakistan I understand that I do not want Central Government for the whole of India, it means Hindu Raj and the provinces where we are in majority will be under the yoke of Hindus". When I said that what do you then want? He said "I want first where the Muslims are in majority, we should have our independent government nothing to do with the Centre or the Hindu India". I said what are those parts? He told me N.W. Zone, he mentioned the name, he said, Sind, Baluchistan, Punjab, N.W.F.P. and Bengal. Then I asked him because he was in the C.P. where Muslims are only 4 per cent, what will happen to you who are here 4 per cent. He said "it is my misfortune that I am born here let my brethren have their own *Hukumat* and let them at least be free. God will protect us here. We do not wish ill to the Hindus, what we want? We say here is the British Government, they have made solemn declarations that they are willing to transfer power and they are willing either as one India or two Indias or more than two dominions if you agree among yourselves. We are willing to give the constitution to one or

more dominions that you may agree upon which will make each dominion stand on the same equal footing as the other dominions including England and you will have same rights and what is more each dominion so constituted will have the right to secede if they so decide. Pakistan means that let Hindus have their Government in Hindu India and let us have our Government in Muslim India and let us both be free. The reply of the Hindu is no, no, we want the whole. Why do you want to rule the whole? Hindu Mahasabha tells in clear language, but there is not much difference between the Hindu Mahasabha and the Congress. Hindu Mahasabha says openly while Congress says it indirectly. Hindu Mahasabha says, I want India in order to keep the Muslims under my heel. You must submit to my Raj and if you are not satisfied go to Mecca and Medina. Now I ask you, Mr. President, who has got ill-will, who has got designs and who is trying to keep under their heels, the other nation not we but they. *Therefore, really when we come to examine these things, it is not a very complicated question but the principal is clear as day light. Surely it is quite clear what is there in common between the Hindus and the Mussalmans. It is not only difference in religions. Is your culture common, is your art common, is your music common, is your language common, is your social life common? In the Baluchistan I am told it is the Muslim locality and the Hindu locality as it is all over India. Is your law and jurisprudence common, is your calender common, or even names common, or dresses common, what is there common between Hindus and the Mussalmans? Then why do you want these two different civilizations to be forced together artificially and expect them to run an All India, legislature and administration. Hindu will not even take water from my hands and yet he talks of democracy.* Two centuries of British rule has not helped to get Hindus and Muslims nearer and they never were before and never will be. The unity of India is British made administration and held by British sword. It is not the unity of homogeneous harmonious people with common culture and one

in all essentials that matter in life. Well now, say the British, we are willing to transfer power. To whom is this power to be transferred. We say to the Congress you represent the Hindus which is a fact and have your Hindustan and let us have our Muslim India-Pakistan. Let us live as good neighbours. In America, Europe and Asia how many states are there. Why does not the Continent of America have one government and mind you there is much less differences between these people like Canadian and other republics in South America. What is the difference between the Irishman and the Englishman and yet Ireland at the risk of division of Ireland itself separated from Britain after centuries of actual union. I say it will be a monstrosity, to suggest that Asia, Africa, Europe and America should have one Central government for these vast continents. It will be absolutely unnatural to put these various nations together because it will never work but, it will be cock-pits of feuds and much more so will be the case in India, and I will say to the Hindus and the Congress, sooner you realise this the better. The quicker you realise, the quicker will be our progress. It is the Congress which is mainly responsible for holding up India's progress. Whole responsibility lies on them and so long as they have this dream of their boyhood and maintain it as the aim of their manhood that they will establish a Hindu Raj and strangle the hundred million of Muslims, so long they are postponing the progress and the freedom of this subcontinent."

The Onward, October 18, 1943.

599

Speech at the second sitting of the Baluchistan Muslim League Conference, Quetta, July 4, 1943.

After the resolutions had been passed an historic sword,

which was announced to have been wielded in several battles in defence of Islam, was presented to Mr. Jinnah.

Accepting the present Mr. Jinnah expressed pleasure at the awakening amongst the Baluchis.

"Your resolutions show", he said, "that you have begun to understand your difficulties and liabilities. You were in absolute darkness. The Muslim League has brought light to you and you, whose thinking power had ceased for centuries along with that of the other Muslims of India, have been made aware of the full facts. If you, one and all, gather under the League flag, you will not only get over your own restrictions but will be a source of real power to Muslim India. This flag would give you protection and power.

Referring to the sword presented to him he said: "It will rise only in defence. But for the present the most important thing is education. Knowledge is a greater force than sword. Go and acquire it. I know if the time comes we will sacrifice our life and all but first get equipped. We do not want you to die in vain. The second important thing is trade and commerce. So long as a nation is weak economically, it cannot hope to win the battle of life. So organise and raise economic life. When you have done it successfully then comes sword which we have been wielding for the last thirteen centuries."

600

Speech in reply to an address of welcome presented to him at the Intermediate College, Quetta, July 6, 1943.

In his reply, Mr. Jinnah advised the students not to take an active part in politics but at the same time to remain well-informed about India and the world events. "Equip yourself for the future," he observed, "because you have a mighty part to

play. Concentrate on your study and try to make education common in your province which is lying far behind other provinces in this respect."

In conclusion, he expressed his hope that the College would be raised to a Degree College before he paid another visit to Quetta. (O.P.)

The Star of India, July 8, 1943.

601

Speech at the tea-party arranged in his honour by the Muslim Students Federation, Quetta, July 7, 1943

"Do not participate in active politics so long as you are students. Do not run after cheep slogans or catch-words. Concentrate your whole attention on education. Get equipped and qualify yourself for action. This is your first duty to your own self, your parents and above all to your nation. The better you are equipped the brighter are your chances of success.

Mr. Jinnah added: "A part of your education is to study the current events, the forces and the movements in India and the world. I ask you, to study the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League, your national organisation.

Exhorting the students to kick out their age-old lethargy Mr. Jinnah said: "Your land has got a history. It has gone through many vicissitudes but you have lived more or less on the same lines for several centuries. You were quite indifferent to what was happening next door or even immediately around you. You moved in your own world, remote and cut off from the rest. This was centuries back and even to-day if you look on Baluchistan you will see that you have not made any real progress."

Another version

"Do you now realise that due to your constant organisational work for the last 10 days Baluchistan has now secured a place on the map of India? Not only that, it has now a foot on the world map. Even the foreign radio stations are now quoting your activities," observed Mr. M. A. Jinnah when the Baluchistan Muslim Students' Federation presented him an embroidered map of India showing Pakistan and with the following inscriptions "Every country is our country since God's country is ours."

Continuing, Mr. Jinnah said: "You have seen the result of your work and will see more. Baluchistan is going to play a very important part in India in near future. Give up your lethargy, apply your mind readily, be steady and work hard for industry and labour are essential for success and steadfastness and toleration are essential for missionaries. I assure you it will be a great strength for not only yourself but for the whole of India."

Earlier, while expressing his thanks to the students for the present they made, Mr. Jinnah related the incident that when in 1940, the All-India Muslim League adopted the Pakistan as its creed, he went to Rohilkhund which was an important place from the view of Muslim history, a young lady just on the eve of his departure, presented him a map of Pakistan embroidered with her own hand. That was a good omen. It also showed that they had been nourishing the idea of Pakistan since long. Muslim League gave it a definite shape only. (O.P.)

The Star of India, July 10, 1943.

602

Speech at Pishin, July 8, 1943.

(On arrival Mr. Jinnah was given a rousing reception by thousands of Pathans gathered from all over the district. He was received by Sardar Ghulam Muhammad Khan, President of the Muslim League, Pishin. Mr. Jinnah later was taken in procession through the main thoroughfare of the town.

At the termination of the procession Mr. Isa delivered a short speech in Pushto welcoming Mr. Jinnah to his home town and explained to the people to make all sacrifices for the achievement of their national home of Pakistan. He emphasised that the League was open to all Mussalmans rich and poor, literates and illiterates, men and women, Sardars and their tribes).

Then Mr. Jinnah addressed the gathering. In a short speech in Urdu*. Mr. Jinnah said, he was glad to have the opportunity to meet the Pathans of this farflung part of Pakistan who had done wonders during the last three years. That is ever since the Provincial League had been established, in organising themselves. "If you continue to work in the same spirit, then I assure you the time is not far off when we shall establish our homeland of Pakistan." he added. (A.P.I.)

The Star of India, July 10, 1943 &
The Dawn, July 11, 1943.

Another version

Mr. Jinnah, thanking his host and the people for the cordial reception accorded to him, said in Urdu that Baluchistan has always been in his mind and whenever someone told him

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* For Urdu version see Appendix.

about Baluchistan or he read about this unfortunate province, he felt pained at its sorry state of affairs. "When the Muslim League was revived in 1937" Mr. Jinnah continued "we determined to do something for Baluchistan but we could not form the Muslim League in this province until 1940.

"From that time onward, we have been in constant touch with Baluchistan and now you can see the result. The voice of Baluchistan is resounding now, not only in India but throughout the world. Foreign radio stations feel your importance and you are known all the world over. You have got a position on the world map.

"I will therefore appeal to you to come under the League banner and unite. You have already got leaders. Help them and they will help you. If you all come under this green flag, I assure you that the day is not far off when we shall have Pakistan. In the end, I pray for your welfare and progress."

The Eastern Times, July 11, 1943.

603

Statement on his return from Ziarat, Quetta, July 19, 1943.

During my visit to Ziarat I had the opportunity of drawing the attention of the Agent to Governor General (A.G.G..) to various matters and demands of the Muslims of British Baluchistan, and I hope they will receive the most careful consideration at his hands and of the Government of India, who are of course the final authority responsible for the administration and Government of Baluchistan. I must say that Sir Aubrey Metcalfe, A.G.G, showed great sympathy and

discussed various matters with me in a most courteous manner and friendly spirit." (A.P.I.)

The Eastern Times, July 20, 1943.

604

Speech at the tea party given by Anjuman-i-Islamia, Quetta, July 19, 1943.

The last three years' progress shown by the people of Baluchistan far exceeded the progress made during the last half a century. It was due to the fact that the realisation of the need to march side by side with other provinces had after all dawned upon Baluchistan.

"So far as the Muslim League and myself are concerned" Mr. Jinnah continued "although we have been fighting for the great issue of Pakistan, we are trying simultaneously for the educational and economic uplift of the people. The League has chalked out a comprehensive programme for this purpose. We are studying it as well as implementing it. (O.P.)

The Eastern Times, July 20, 1943.

605

Statement contradicting the Press reports about his intentions to meet Allama Mashriqi, Quetta, July 19, 1943.

Mr. Jinnah contradicted the Press reports that he told any Khaksar leader that he (Mr. Jinnah) intended to see Allama Mashriqui in connection with the Khaksar move for a Jinnah-Gandhi meeting and approachment.

The reports alleged that the Khaksar leader met Mr. Jinnah in Baluchistan. Mr. Jinnah described the news as a piece of malicious propaganda.

The Star of India, July 20, 1943.

606

Special Message, conveyed through Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan to the Muslims of North-West Frontier Province on the eve of the by-elections to the Provincial Assembly, Karachi, July 20, 1943.

"All Muslim India's eyes are to-day towards you. If you fail in duty you will shock all the Mussalmans of India. The Mussalmans of India have great faith and hopes in you and believe that you will be unconquerable soldiers of Islam like your unconquerable rocks and through you Islam in India will be able to revive the glorious past."

607

Statement regarding Sikandar - Jinnah Pact, New Delhi, July 24, 1943.

"There is not the slightest doubt that immediately after the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact the Unionist Party in the Punjab was no more," declares Mr. Jinnah in reply to a communication from Sir Muhammad Nawaz Khan, a member of the Punjab Assembly, according to the New Delhi correspondent of the "*Tribune*."

Sir Muhammad Nawaz had asked Mr. Jinnah for a clarification of his pact with the late Premier in connection with the present controversy in the Punjab about the position of the Ministry.

Mr. Jinnah says: "Under that Pact a Muslim League Party was established in the Punjab Assembly and that Party was subject to the control and supervision of the All-India Muslim League and the Provincial Muslim League. Malik Khizr Hyat Khan has formed a Muslim League Ministry. (A.P.I.)

The Star of India, July 26, 1943.

608

Interview to the Associated Press, Bombay, July 26, 1943

In an interview to the Associated Press Mr. Jinnah said: "Although it was a serious and well-planned attack, by the grace of God, no serious injury has been inflicted on me. I don't want to say anything just now but I appeal to the Muslims to remain calm and cool and let us all thank Providence for this miraculous escape. I regret that this cowardly assault should have been made on me by a man who, I understand, is a Muslim." (A.P.)

Morning News, July 27, 1943.

609

Message to the Muslims of North-West Frontier Province about the by-elections to the Provincial Assembly, Bombay, July 28, 1943.

"I am perfectly all right; don't you worry." This personal

assurance from Quaid-e-Azam Mr. Jinnah was received on telephone by Qazi Mohamad Isa, member of the Working Committee, who was on a visit to Peshawar.

A large crowd waited at the Premier's house for several hours to hear Quaid-e-Azam's personal assurance.

Quaid-e-Azam enquired about the election work and gave a message to the Mussalmans of the Frontier Province stating, "Forget what has happened to me, concentrate your energies on winning the election which we are fighting on the basis of Pakistan."

610

Message to the Muslims of Kashmir on the occasion of the annual session of the Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference, Bombay, August 12, 1943.

"I wish the conference every success. My earnest appeal to the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir is this. Stand united under one organisation and work for the welfare and uplift of the Muslims of the State educationally, economically, socially and politically. I trust your conference will guide the Muslims along the right path of progress and thus realise your cherished aims and aspirations. Unity, discipline and faith will enable you to achieve complete success."

The Eastern Times, August 14, 1943.

611

Message to Frontier Muslims, Bombay, August 13, 1943

"Mr. M. A. Jinnah has sent the following telegram to Sardar Aurangzeb Khan and Bakht Jamal Khan, President of the Frontier Provincial Muslim League on the success of the Muslim League candidates during the recent elections :-

"Heartiest congratulations for cent per cent success. Warmest thanks to all our workers for this great achievement and grateful thanks to the electorates and Muslims of the Frontier Province for having shown remarkable solidarity and secured this decisive victory on the issue of Pakistan. The Frontier has raised the honour, prestige and reputation of the League by their verdict by leaps and bounds. I appeal to every Muslim to give up internecine quarrel and stand solid and united under the banner of the League at this critical moment in our struggle. Insha-Allah', we shall achieve our goal of Pakistan very soon." Jinnah.

The Dawn, August 15, 1943.

612

Appeal to Muslims of India for contributions to the fund opened by the Calcutta Muslim Chamber of Commerce to relieve the distress of the people of Bengal due to shortage of food, Bombay, August 31, 1943.

"I am greatly pained to hear of the condition of the people of Beng and the distress that prevails in that province due to the shor ge of food. I have been informed that the Bengal Ministry is doing its best to grapple with the diffiult situation

that has arisen, but they require the help and the co-operation of individuals and organisations in giving succour to the starving people.

"I therefore appeal to the Muslims all over India and especially in Bengal to come to the rescue of the people of Bengal by contributing their mite to the Relief Fund opened by by the Calcutta Muslim Chamber of Commerce to which I am sending my personal contribution of Rs.1,000 addressed to Calcutta Muslim Chamber of Commerce Relief Fund through the President of the Chamber.

"I sincerely hope that the Mussalmans will not fail to make their contribution for the purpose of removing the hardships and the suffering of the people of Bengal and go to their rescue whole heartedly." (A.P.)

The "Morning News" September 1, 1943.

613

Interview to the Foreign Press, Bombay, September 24, 1943.

"Pakistan is an indispensable condition of any settlement in India," said Mr. M. A. Jinnah in an interview to the Foreign Press.

"It has the support of 99 per cent of the Muslims of India, as has been proved by recent by-elections". He said: "Pakistan should be brought into operation without delay. What can Lord Wavell do? There is no ground for delaying this settlement.

"As long ago as 1858, Mr. Bright spoke of the folly of trying to weld the various nations and races and creeds of India into one State. This has been fully proved in the past 85 years

since his far-sighted pronouncements. We must now form two great Indian States, the Muslim State of the North with a population of 80 millions and the Hindu State of the South with a population of 250 millions.

No weakness

Mr. Jinnah did not agree that this division of India would lead to weakness or would mean that the Muslims of the North would look to the Arabian States of the West while the Hindu State would turn to China and the east. He pointed out that the Muslim State alone – and he was excluding the Indian States from his calculations – would have a population nearly three times that of England or twice that of France and a far larger territory in proportion.

Mr. Jinnah urged that Mr. Gandhi should recognise his mistake and should withdraw his resolution of August 8, which, he contended, is already dead.

This resolution, said Mr. Jinnah, contained a double threat. The first part of it demanded a National Government' under very vague terms, which would virtually torpedo Pakistan. This was a threat to the Muslims since they would inevitably be in a minority in the kind of Hindu National Government which Mr. Gandhi had in mind. The second part which dealt with mass civil disobedience and sabotage of the war effort was a threat to the British Government if they refused to concede Congress demands, but it has failed.

Act boldly

Let Mr. Gandhi act boldly and withdraw his resolution. Then the British Government will no longer have any excuse for keeping Mr. Gandhi and the other Congress leaders in prison. Indians will then be able to get together and thrash out the settlement.

But the idea of a federal, united, democratic State in India is wrong. Such a State would place the Muslim minority permanently at the mercy of the Hindu majority.

Some Hindus have admitted that their aim is a Hindu raj over the whole sub-continent. That would mean the substitution of Hindu garrisons for the present British garrisons.

Questioned on the Indian Muslim attitude towards the movement in the Middle East for a Pan-Arab Federation, Mr. Jinnah declined to express an opinion but he sent the following massage on behalf of Indian Muslims: "We take the deepest interest in the welfare of our brothers in the Middle East. We wish them Godspeed and we pray for their success in their aims and aspirations." (A.P.)

The Morning News, September 25, 1943.

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Message to the Muslims of India, on Id-ul-fitr, Bombay, September 30, 1943.

"I wish the Mussalmans of India Id Mubarak.

"We have gone through and faced another year of our political struggle with no small credit to our national organisation – the All-India Muslim League. The Muslim League has gone forward from strength to strength and has stimulated and advanced every nation-building department and walk of life.

"Recently remarkable results, cent per cent success was achieved by the Muslim League organisation in the various by-elections in Bengal and N.W.F.P., which is noteworthy.

"It is obvious that to-day we stand more solid and united

and stronger than ever before. All this progress that has been achieved within a few years is due to our steady, patient and careful exertions,, by enormous efforts and selfless services and sacrifices of thousands of our workers and supporters and finally with the whole-hearted mass co-operation and support of our people throughout India.

"I need not repeat the meaning and the significance of Id as you all know well what it means. But on this auspicious day I would urge upon you in the name of our national cause and our cherished goal of Pakistan, to stand united and unswerving in your determination and that you should not hesitate to make every sacrifice and be prepared for all sacrifices for collective good and our national cause.

"We are a nation of 100 million of people inhabiting this great sub-continent and we have a great history and past behind us. Let us prove worthy of it and bring about true renaissance of Islam and revive its glory and splendour.

"Therefore, with our motto, 'unity, discipline and faith,' let us all resolve on this great day and reaffirm once more our solemn declaration that Muslim India will not rest content till we have achieved our cherished goal of Pakistan.

"Work of it, live for it and if need be die for it, but achieve our goal we must, for else all is lost.

The Morning News, October 1, 1943.

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Speech at a reception given by Memon Chamber of Commerce, on the occasion of Id-ul-Fitr, Bombay, October 1, 1943.

"The grave political issues with which we are concerned cannot be settled by the cult of the knife or gangsterism",

declared Mr. M. A. Jinnah speaking at an Id gathering.

The Memon Chamber of Commerce were the hosts and a large number of people attended the function. Haji Hasham Ismail on behalf of the Chamber of Commerce welcomed Mr. Jinnah and expressed grateful thanks to Providence for Mr. Jinnah's escape.

Replying to the felicitations, Mr. Jinnah said that while he could not say much on the incident of the attack on him, as the matter was *sub judice*,' at the same time he had no hesitation in stating that one could not change the convictions of people by simple threats or by attacking their lives. The issues involved were too grave to make them deviate from their course even by a hair's breadth. On the other hand, they were bound to pursue their path with redoubled vigour. There were many parties no doubt, but one could not possibly liquidate the differences amongst them by attempting to take away the lives of the other parties.

He was, however, glad to say that the Muslim League had reached a stage when if one man was taken away, a hundred more would rise in his place. The Muslim League had come to say, and none could destroy it. Attempts had been made to disrupt the League, but they were futile. "Give up this game," said Mr. Jinnah adding: "You cannot divide the League. You may kill a few leaders if you like, but you cannot kill the League."

Adverting to the activities of the Memon Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Jinnah said that it was impossible to separate politics from economics and the social and educational life of a nation. One was so closely interwoven with the other, that every Muslim, man and woman, should take the keenest interest in politics. He knew of no nation that had built up its economic, social and educational life without political power and authority vested in the hands of the people. It might be that a few merchants amassed millions, but that by itself had no effect or

influence on the people as a whole. Few of them did real business and many resorted to speculation.

Emphasizing the need to built up heavy industries, Mr. Jinnah said that though there were many rich merchants in the Muslim Chamber of Commerce, he could hardly think of anyone who was running a heavy industry. Great and heavy industries formed the backbone of a nation.

A co-ordinated effort was essential for success, and he was against the establishment of sectarian Chambers of Commerce amongst Muslims. Collective efforts alone could lead to success, and he hoped the All-India Muslim Chamber of Commerce, which was now being organised in the various provinces, would fill the void.

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Message to Dawn on its First Anniversary, Bombay, October 12, 1943.

"On the first anniversary of the daily *Dawn* I would inform its subscribers and readers that we have passed through our first year with no small success, notwithstanding the various difficulties we have had to encounter, difficulties mainly due to war conditions. We have not got our own printing plants, and we have, therefore, been depending upon the services of an outside press.

"As you know, we have had to organize our office and our staff in the absence of our own printing press and in the face of difficulties in securing newsprint (available in limited quotas), and in putting up all the equipment necessary for the production of a first-class daily. There remains much to be done yet, and various measures for improving the Editorial and Managerial

sides of *Dawn* are receiving our constant attention in order to make the paper a real powerful living voice of Muslim India. In spite of handicaps *Dawn* has, during its one year's existence, rendered most valuable services to the Muslim cause and the All-India Muslim League.

"The circulation has already reached our allotted quota of newsprint, and we are not able to meet the growing demand from many people who are ready and willing to subscribe. I am thankful to the Muslim public all over India for the very keen interest they have envinced in *Dawn* from its very inception and the whole-hearted support they have given towards the progress and welfare of this paper. It has been read and appreciated by quite a large number of non-Muslims also who are subscribers and who have shown their sympathy for it. TO MUSLIM INDIA *Dawn* has already become an institution, and time and circumstances permitting (I hope at a not too far distant date) I trust various branches, from the foundation laid in the starting of *Dawn* in Delhi will spread and flourish all over Muslim India.

"The press is a vital necessity for the progress and the welfare of the Nation, because it is through the press that a Nation can be guided and its opinion moulded for the furthering of activities in all departments in life.

"So far, I am glad to say, the progress made by *Dawn* as the result of the first year's working is most satisfactory from every point of view, not excluding the financial side. We now look forward to the second year in the spirit of hope and courage, and with the help of Muslim India we can achieve still grater success in the coming year; and the day may come when every Muslim will become a reader of *Dawn*.

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Statement on Bengal Famine Situation, Bombay, October 31, 1943.

Interviewed on the Bengal famine situation, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, said: "At this grave moment of terrible plight and suffering in Bengal and the appalling death-roll that is daily issued I would not like to say anything as to who is really responsible for allowing this tragic situation to develop. But the present Ministry working under the present constitution with its limitations cannot be saddled with the responsibility, and further they only came into power after the terrible crisis had overwhelmed Bengal. I am assured that they are doing their very best.

"But the fact remains that thousands are dying, and I earnestly appeal to His Excellency the Viceroy Lord Wavell to leave no stone unturned and give immediate help and relief to the people of Bengal with all the resources that the Government of India can command. Similarly I appeal to Mr. Churchill in the coming debate in the House of Commons to make the position of His Majesty's Government clear and give a solemn assurance to the people of India and Bengal that His Majesty's Government will take immediate active steps to relieve the starving people of Bengal and secure in the future against its recurrence in Bengal or any other part of India. This muddle, whoever is responsible for it, is the greatest blot on the British administration in this country, and it must be wiped off without delay." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, November 1, 1943.

618

Speech at the Meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council, Delhi, November 14, 1943.

"Mr. Jinnah in addressing the Council began his speech by thanking the Council for the expression of their sympathy and joy over his escape in the murderous assault made on his life. He said, "I do not want to say anything more on the subject. My earnest appeal to every Mussalman is that he should come under the banner of the Muslim League, because therein lies our salvation.

League-Most Democratic

Continuing he said, "The constitution of the Muslim League is the most democratic that could be framed. There is no Muslim to whom the doors of the Muslim League are not open. If the Mussalmans are dissatisfied with the leader, surely the remedy lies in their hand. They can remove him if they so desire by exercising their rights under the constitution of the party, but if they try to settle things by force and violence, nothing but blood-shed would ensue."

Hindudom

With regard to the proposals of "Akhand Hindustan" or the so-called "National Government' he said that the sole intention was the establishment of Hindu Raj and Hindu-dominated government in the country. The purpose of this was obvious to Muslim India, in fact, they were only to be transferred to a Hindu raj and instead of the British garrison, they would be under the mercy of the Hindu garrison. Will it ever be possible for the Hindu leaders, he asked, to accomplish or achieve this when the Muslims were fully alive, alert and vigilant? Could they expect Muslim India to sign their own death-warrant? Around these schemes was all the propaganda that filled the

press and was spoken from the platforms, since the Council last met; and barring this, Mr. Jinnah said, he saw nothing new that had happened in the political horizon of India, that he should comment on. He said that he was repeating these issues merely to refresh once more the council's memory.

Food Situation

Continuing Mr. Jinnah said, "As regards the food situation in the country, the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League has given serious consideration to the matter and on which a resolution will be moved tomorrow." He defended the Ministry in Bengal and declared that they were doing their best. When they got in, the conflagration was on and Bengal was overshadowed by the crisis. Someone was responsible for that conflagration. The Nazimuddin Ministry went there as fire-brigade and were doing their utmost to put out the fire. He deprecated the activities of those who, even in the presence of death, were mischievously using the occasion for political propaganda and for the attainment of the ulterior objects. He went on to say that the famine in Bengal was man-made and was the greatest blot on the British administration in India.

Kashmir Situation

Mr. Jinnah dwelt on the question of Kashmir and said that the situation there was really very serious. If the accounts reaching him were to be believed, he would say the situation was appalling. He appealed to his Highness the Maharaja to look into the matter and discharge his great responsibilities as a ruler of the state and the duty that he owed to his people, nearly 80 per cent of whom were Mussalmans. Mr. Jinnah concluded by saying that he would not allow the present state of things to continue.

The Dawn, November 15, 1943

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Speech in the Central Legislative Assembly on the "Food Situation", New Delhi, November 18, 1943.

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava (Food Member): Sir, I beg to move:

"That the food situation in India be taken into consideration."

I move this motion with a heavy sense of responsibility because I am keenly conscious of the fact that we are to-day in the presence of a tragic calamity affecting a large number of our countrymen. Let me assure the calamity affecting a large number of our countrymen. Let me assure the House that the Government of India fully share their anxiety and that nothing which is capable of brining speedy relief to the distressed people will be left undone....

. . . .

The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque.....I say categorically without fear of contradiction, that here in this very city of Delhi the price of a number of articles has come down in the last few weeks.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): Sir, may I interrupt the Honourable Member? I seemed to hear the Honourable Member say that the amount of grain exported by the U.K.C.C. was something like 100 tons. May I know the total amount of foodgrains that was exported?

. . . . .

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar:.....Sir, on the 8th December came the Japanese entry into the war. In January we realised that this would be a serious disturbing factor. In

February 1942 the next Price Control Conference was called in.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: What is the present prevailing price at Lyallpur and Hapur? Is there any difference?

The Honourable Dewan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: Yes, Sir, there is a great deal of difference. The difference is about Rs. 2. At any rate the Food Member will correct me later if I am wrong. The parity is gone. There is no parity between the Sind wheat and the Lyallpur wheat and between the Lyallpur wheat and the United Provinces wheat.....

.....

The Honourable Dewan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar.....We decided to lift all the rice that we could, before ever anybody thought that there would be this serious shortage of rice either in Bengal or in any other area. The Government of India did everything possible to get this rice or paddy from Burma.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: How much did you get?

The Honourable Dewan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: I have not got the figures.

Some Honourable Members: You got absolutely nothing.

The Honourable Dewan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: What is the good of Honourable Members saying 'nothing' when they know nothing.

Some Honourable Members: Then give us the figures.

The Honourable Dewan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: The fact that I am unable to give the figures does not disprove the truth of my statement.....

.....

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir (Bombay City; Non-Muhammadan Urban): How many Provincial Governments were under section 93 administration at that time?

The Honourable Dewan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: That is a matter which is well known to my Honourable friend. If my Honourable friend means to suggest that some section 93 Provinces also did not carry out this Ordinance, then he is perfectly right.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: What were you doing?

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: He was doing his best.

The Honourable Dewan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: I do not want to give the obvious reply to that question. My Honourable friend knows from his experience that sometimes he is as powerless as I have been with reference to matters of that kind and with reference to matters that do not lie in my hand.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: My question was not with regard to the Honourable Member himself-personally. What was the Government of India doing?

The Honourable Dewan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: The Government of India was asking the Provincial Governments to enforce these things. The Government of India was drawing the attention of the Provincial Governments to it. But the Provincial Governments sometimes came forward with the plea that they were arranging for the staff, that it would take some time before it can be enforced, that they have not yet recruited the staff. Even now some Provincial Governments come forward by saying that rationing cannot be introduced from the 15th of this month, that rationing should be postponed to the 15th of the next month, some other Provincial Governments say, we are still making arrangements and that the rationing should be further postponed to the 15th of the third month and so on and so forth.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: My question was this. The Provincial Governments were shilly-shallying and dilly-dallying, what action did the Government of India take?

The Honourable Dewan Bahadur Sir A. Ramasami Mudaliar: Now, Sir, let me follow the course of events which I was narrating.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: If it is secret or confidential I do not want you to disclose it.

Dr. G. V. Deshmukh (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): In his great knowledge, he does not know it.

.....

The Honourable Dewan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar:.....I shall be hiding my head in the sands of prejudice like an ostrich if I feel that these issues can be solved by these subtle methods. They are not going to be; therefore let us cast aside all ideas of trying to make political theories out of what are economic facts today, economic facts that arise and have to be solved under the present constitution. Nobody is going to be bound by what is done today so far as the future is concerned. There are a hundred ways of solving these problems.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: I hope you will take some measure or step by which you can at least impress it upon Lord Hailey and the great journal the *Times of London*.

The Honourable Dewan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: I hope, Sir, that what I am saying in this House, specially if this debate is to be transmitted elsewhere, will have the effect, and I know that Lord Hailey is a very careful student of Indian debates.....

.....

Dr. P. N. Banerjea:.....What was the manner in which this policy was carried out? The most inhuman and cruel. I have personal knowledge of the fact that wives were separated from their husbands, that babies were separated from their mothers; and all this has led to disruption of thousands of families. And what has been the object of this forcible removal from Calcutta? The Government view is that this policy has been undertaken in order to prevent deterioration of the health of the people of that city.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: What was the object of separating wives and babies?

Dr. P. N. Banerjea: All that was done in a haphazard manner. There was no plan, there was no definite programme, and things were done in the most careless and autocratic manner. What was the object of this removal policy? The ostensible object was that the health of Calcutta should not deteriorate.....

.....

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum:.....Now, you did not have any comprehensive plan. In all other countries, when the war started, their National Governments sat down, deliberated and consulted their experts and they had some sort of a comprehensive plan for the duration of the war in order to see that troubles like the shortage of food with which you are afflicted in this country did not affect the people inhabiting those lands. Now, is it or is it not a fact that practically 97 million acres of uncultivated land are lying useless in India? What efforts or attempts were made by the Central Government to bring into cultivation these 97 million acres as against the 200 million acres which are actually under cultivation?

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Grow vegetables in your gardens!

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum: As if the Indian peasants eat

vegetables! When I heard the speech of the Leader of the European Group, I was reminded of a story and I do not mean any disrespect to him. When he stated, why not grow beetroot, cucumber, cauliflower and such other vegetables, it reminded me of a story which I had heard as a child. When there was a famine in the good old days, the King's daughter said: "Why don't they eat *Pulao, Kababs* and things of that kind?".....

.....

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum:.....There will be revolutions and more revolutions and there will be even greater revolutions until the time comes when the British people are forced to withdraw from this country and a truly national and responsible Government is set up in this country. With these words, I close my speech.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Sir, this is one of the most painful occasions when I have had to participate in a debate under the shadow of thousands dying. The motion before the House is that the food situation be taken into consideration and there are various amendments which are tabled before the House. Now, Sir, in order to take the food situation into consideration, I think the House will agree with me that it will be failing in its duty if we have only to examine with such material as one can get or as will be made available, because, as non-official members, we have not got all the secrets of the Government in our possession. With such material as we have and we can get we have to form our judgement as to the responsibility of Government in this matter. I was rather surprised to hear from Sir Henry Richardson who ought to know the traditions of Parliamentary Government better than any one else that it is no use indulging in recriminations. Do you call this recrimination when the Government in charge of the country is responsible? Who is the real thief has to be found out but the Government of the country is responsible for the safety of the lives of the people, and that is

a fact which nobody can deny. You may say that five thousand are dying per day or ten thousand are dying per day; that is a matter of mathematics. But can anybody deny that fact that thousands have died and even today they are dying of starvation? That fact remains, and the further fact also remains that thousands that have not actually died have suffered. Do not forget that category of people; they have suffered to such an extent that it will take a long time before they can ever get to the normal condition of life.

Now do you expect us to say that nothing very much has happened? Let us see what we can do in order to put right this appalling state of things which we have been witnessing every day. Sir, in any other country where you have a Government that can only exist with the will and sanction and the approval of the people there will be no need for any commission or any inquiry. I ask you this question, and I particularly ask the leader of the European Group: supposing in England a few hundred people had died or were dying every week of starvation, — let alone a few thousands, — would Churchill's Government be able to stand on the Treasury benches for 24 hours? And here we are calmly and coolly told about recrimination and so on.

Thoroughly incompetent

"It is our misfortune that we are living under a system of Government which is irremovable and irresponsible and, I would add, thoroughly incompetent to handle any big issue. And further, they are tied down and fettered by their master, the Secretary of State and the India Office. What can you expect these people to do? This country of 400 million souls is governed virtually by two men; one is the Viceroy and Governor-General and the other is the Secretary of State for India.

"I asked the Honourable Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar what he did. He pleaded, as if that was a personal remark against him as an individual, that he had many difficulties and so on and so

forth. Yes, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, I fully realise and you know it – I am not disrespectful but am only criticising your status and the constitution of this Government – your status is that of a person in charge of a department with a glorified title which entitles you to sit on those Treasury Benches. You are not a Cabinet Minister, and you do not know what is happening. You are not consulted; it is only when it pleases the Governor-General to take you into his confidence that you come to know, and then you offer your humble advice and after that you are dismissed. I realise that position.

Machine-Gun Government

"This is a constitution and a form of Government which has no sanction and the will of the people or their approval of any kind behind it and in every sense of the word, completely bureaucratic, and having behind it the strength of penal laws and Ordinances and ultimately the machine gun. How can a Government so constituted ever function efficiently when there is a grave crisis? It is all right in normal times when files are passed and red-tapism goes on; but let me tell you that this Government will never be able to stand any great crisis. What is the use of your blaming others? I have not the slightest intention of making any political capital out of this and I want to avoid it completely. But you say that the Provincial Government of Bengal did not do this, that and the other thing; you say that the Governments of the other provinces were not helpful and willing to co-operate with each other. And you say, of course, that the Government of India were simply the acme of perfection; everybody else may be responsible but not the Government of India nor the Secretary of State for India. I want to know what the Government of India did, and let us examine it.

Sir Azizul Haque in this speech today and also in his previous speech which I have read with great care and attention gave us the information that they appointed a Food Conference

in 1939. There was a Food Conference in 1940, there was a Food Conference in 1941, there was a Food Conference in 1942, and there was a Food Conference in 1943. I was very pleased to hear that. With your Food Conference in 1939, with your Food Conference in 1940, with your Food Conference in 1941 and with your Food Conference in 1942 and your Food Conferences every year, what is the result? The net result is that thousand are dying.

Dr. P. N. Banerjea: Hundreds of thousands.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: It is no use blaming the Provincial Government, or Governments. I am not here to defend them. May be that they were negligent, may be that they did not do their duty; but, Sir, how can any Provincial Government possibly deal with the situation? You look at every other civilized country in the world. Can the Provincial Government deal with inflation and the financial difficulties, can the Provincial Government deal with the question of exports and imports, can the Provincial Government deal with the transport inside this country, can the Provincial Government deal with the shipping, can the Provincial Government or Governments stop or deal with the operations of the Government of India for military purposes? I am giving you these few instances. there may be others. How can the Provincial Governments deal with these various things? Have they got the power and control all over India, have the Provincial Governments got the control and the power in the fixing of the prices, have the Provincial Governments got the power or authority of procurement, have the Provincial Governments got the power to ration all over? True, Bombay did it. And let me tell you about Bombay. Bombay is not out of danger. Let me tell you. A man in the street knew this in December last. Before that, of course, it was very difficult for the ordinary man to realise although some knew before that that there was danger. The Government itself knew that this was a very serious thing. But before I deal with Bombay, may I,

in between, point out what did the Government of India do, for at present I am dealing with the Government of India.

(At this stage, Mr. President Sir Abdul Rahim resumed the chair.)

Till December 1942, there was no Food Department. It was only in the December 1942 that Mr. N.R. Sarker, who was also the Commerce Member, was given this portfolio, and the Department of Food was set up. Mr. Sarkar resigned and from February to May there was no Member; no Member at all. Who was doing the business? The Secretary and the all-powerful apostle of a system of Government much worse than Fascism and Nazism, the all-powerful single dictator-the Governor-General. What did he do? Nothing from February to May. In May we were able to find out a suitable man. Sir, it took us from February to May to find out a suitable man whom this Department could be given, and I congratulate my Honourable friend, Sir Azizul Haque, that he was the choice.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: They made their choice very soon!

Mr. Jinnah: But he was also holding the Commerce portfolio.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Industries and Civil Supplies also.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: I do not know exactly what were the reasons, but all that I know was that all these departments that he was holding were beyond his human capacity, and if something was not done then we might lose him altogether.

Fairy godmother

So in August 1943, it was transferred to Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava – the fairy godmother. And this fairy godmother says 'take the food situation into consideration', and this fairy god-mother says 'I shall not be satisfied so long as

famine and distress exists'. I hope not. What wonderful statement the Honourable Member has made. I will deal later with what he is doing now.

Sir, I was dealing with Bombay. It was known to the man in the street as far back as December that the food situation was very serious in this country; it came home to us in Bombay. And, Sir, it was very fortunate that the Governor of Bombay himself was fully alive to and fully in touch with the situation.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: It was different in my province.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: I say, it was our good fortune that the Governor was fully alive to the situation, and naturally so. At that time I had the honour to point out certain things to him, because the situation was very serious in Bombay. I can give you one instance: When I went back from Delhi in December 1942 and when I reached my house, immediately three of my servants came to me and said that they had nothing to eat for three days; they could not get any food. All that I could do was to immediately attend to them. So it was known to the man in the street – that was my point. The Governor then came post-haste to Delhi and made whatever battle or fight that he had to go through. I do not know what happened, but one thing that I do know is that he came fully fortified and somehow or other he secured the co-operation of the Central Government.

Now, you will say, "How is it that the Governor of Bombay did it; we were prepared to help him. Why didn't other provinces do it." This is exactly the charge against you. Unless somebody comes and goads you, and unless somebody comes and tells you that you are living in a fool's paradise, and unless somebody comes and tells you that this is your responsibility, you will not see or wake up to your sense of responsibility and you will not go away from your musty files in which you are absorbed. Perfectly true, I am not defending any Provincial

Government at all. They have got their responsibilities. But I say what could they have done except to come to you and tell you "Look here, if you don't move – and you have not moved – if you don't move, the results will be terrible, dreadful." But what were you doing?

Gross Negligence

Therefore, Sir, it seems to me that you cannot possibly get away from this charge against you and that you have been guilty of gross negligence: that you have failed to discharge your duties and your responsibility as you ought to have. That is not my view, but Mr. Pethick-Lawrence who opened the debate in the House of Commons said in conclusion, "that the Secretary of State has failed to discharge his responsibility" and, as I do say this is due mainly to inflation; his concrete suggestion was "that you should now take measures and meet this danger of inflation by means of taxation and loans." He represents the Labour Party, a responsible speaker, not a back-bencher.

Another prominent figure in the political life of England, speaking on behalf of the National Liberal Party, Sir George Schuster said: "They should all keep before them one purpose – to strengthen the arm of Lord Wavell. This soldier had achieved his most brilliant successes when all odds were against him and difficulties he always turned into opportunities. If these were the conditions under which he worked best, he could not have been sent to a more suitable place than India."

Sir George Schuster said there was a failure to take adequate and comprehensive action. It was a story of half measures and vacillation. Sir George Schuster could not find in the White Paper that rice was ever seriously mentioned or discussed at any Food Conference until December 1942.

The Honourable Dewan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: That is not correct. Sir George

Schuster is the same old George Schuster who was Finance Member here.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Excuse me you are wrong. He said it is not mentioned in the White Paper: not what is your correct information. He said in the White Paper it appears. Referring to the question of inflation and the various financial problems, he asked, whether the India Office had thought that the financial problems were going to be all important all throughout the war. He felt the situation had not been faced up to and that the responsibility that rested in London had not been fully discharged. — I would add that the responsibility that rested in India was not fully discharged, or far from that – if Mr. Amery and the India Office were to be purely passive and merely to say 'yes' to any demand that came from India, what was the object of that great office and of money that was spent on the staff?" He thought that the House was entitled to an answer. He felt Mr. Amery had a heavy responsibility to the House in this matter which he had not fully discharged.

Therefore the two speakers on behalf of the two recognised parties have condemned the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery in the language in which I have put before you.

How much more is your guilt? And what do we find, Sir? As late as last January Mr. Amery says that everything is O.K. Practically it came to this. Everything is all right. There is no fear of any famine of any kind. Don't bother. The Secretary of State for India, making this statement on the floor of the House before Parliament! May I know on whose authority did he make it? Who supplied him with the information in January 1942 which enabled him to make that solemn statement before Parliament? I cannot imagine that a man in the position of the Secretary of State for India would ever have made such a statement unless he was very sure or so informed by the

Government of India.

Well, Sir, I do not want to go into the various details, as I cannot do it within the time. Now we come to the question of facing this situation, but before I deal with it let me say one thing. As far as – shall I use the word? – the guilt or crime or the gross negligence of the Government, as it is constituted today, is concerned, we are powerless, and under the constitution we can do nothing.

Colossal Failure

But I want to tell the Honourble Members here that helpless as we are under the constitution, as a forlorn hope and in despair we say, and this House ought to say – let me tell you I am not supporting the amendment of the Muslim League because it is a League amendment, though it is a most comprehensive amendment – to those who want to understand that we think and we hold this Government *prima facie* guilty of gross negligence, and that they have failed, and they have shown no grip or foresight, and they are guilty of the colossal failure to discharge a responsibility that is imposed upon them.

Instead of defending yourself as advocates, instead of the Secretary of State for India defending himself and this – what shall I say – Government which is incompetent, a Government which is incapable of meeting any crisis, of facing any big issues, a Government essentially bureaucratic in its mentality, in its character and in its own blood, now instead of defending themselves, you should throw down your arms; do not try to throw blame on this and that and the other; you know it; and if you do not know this much, then God help you! You know it, that the main responsibility was yours, and you are paid to discharge it; and amongst the other scape-goats that you want to find out, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar has added one more.

This is the first time that it has been suggested even

indirectly; the insinuation was clear, – he did not name it, but he did mean that there was a party which acted in a manner which made it more difficult for you to formulate a policy which would have prevented this appalling disaster. Are you really serious about it? If it is true that there is a party – mind you here is no question of politics – if the Government of India thought that here is a party that is playing this game – may be out of bitterness, may be out of ill will, may be on political grounds – but if you came to that conclusion that there was an appreciable number of people here who were doing this, may I know what action you took? Why did you not openly say that, in this matter this is happening? One thing is certain now. I can tell you now on the floor of this House, so far as the Muslim League is concerned, so far as the Mussalmans are concerned, we do not wish to introduce any political issue or make capital political, financial or any other capital, out of this, we know one thing: our countrymen are dying. We know there is danger.

Remember that you have not got over it. And let me tell you that if the monsoon fails, I do not know what will happen. It is no use saying that this is God's act. God has not yet intervened, but He may, and, therefore, be prepared even to meet the intervention of God. It is no use saying, "It is our enemy's action." Yes, the enemy has done his worst; the Burma market has gone; but what did you do? I want to know. There is nothing of any substantial kind of scheme or result or even prospects of any big results. Nothing. For four years you have been pottering about; for four years you have been trifling with this question. Can you point out to me and say "This is what we did." What is this, but like arguments for the defence which is false.

Amery's Puerile Argument

Mr. Amery in the House of Commons says, "Oh, the British Government has built up a magnificent canal system

which has now even made India monsoon-proof." He is not content with that past history and the glory of the great work of Britain, but he says that one of the causes of this famine is the increase of population from 50 to 60 millions. I want to know – I do not know what has happened to Mr. Amery – either it is done merely to fool the people, for propaganda; that is the only interpretation I can put upon it: How can any sane man stand before another intelligent man and say that this famine or this starvation and death is due to the increase in population in ten years of fifty millions? Surely these 50 millions have not descended upon this earth, this blessed country, in a day or in forty-eight hours. What is this argument? If the population was increasing. I suppose it increased gradually; it did not happen in one day. Surely this benign Government, these guardians and trustees of our life and property should have made some arrangement as they went on increasing. No, Sir. This is, to my mind, adding insult to injury. I have done with this part of the question.

League Offer

I now come to this other part. What are we to do? We cannot allow ourselves to be side-tracked and diverted from the main issue; and here, speaking on behalf of the Muslim League, I can assure you that we are prepared to give you every possible assistance, notwithstanding the fact that we condemn you, that you are not only guilty of failure in the discharge of your duties, that you have treated every party with contempt and you kept every party at arm's length, and somehow or other deliberately designed that no party should be allowed to co-operate with you – and you want to run your own show – notwithstanding all that, notwithstanding the differences that we have, believe me they will not stand in our way of giving you the fullest co-operation for the purpose of saving those who are dying, for the purpose of giving nourishment to those who are on the point of death, and that we should see for the future in the name of

humanity, that this does not recur.

Today you stand – say what you like and do what you like – before the bar not only of the public opinion in India, but of the whole world, condemned, because the foreign propaganda is going on, and because you have failed. Now, let us redeem at least your character which is almost lost; and above all, let us save those who are dying and those who may die in the future. Do something definite, something clear, something concrete, effectively and quickly.

Military Hand

"I am afraid I have taken more time – I do not want to take up any more of the time of the House. Now, see what you have done between the months of August, September and October, these three months? You have done a good bit with success. May I know how you were able to do it when you were pottering for four years before? Could you not have done this before what you have done in three months or four months? What is the answer to that? Why did you not do it? Perhaps I can only surmise that it is not this fairy god-mother that has come to our rescue. What can he do after all? Perhaps it is the hand, the military hand, which believes in action and not red-tapism, that may have helped this wooden, ante-diluvian, and incompetent Government to action."

The Legislative Assembly Debates, 1943, Vol.IV, pp. 196, 498, 508-10, 513, 517, 522,524-29 & The Dawn, November 19, 1943.

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Interview given to Mr. Beverley Nichols, Bombay, December 18, 1943.

Beverley Nichols. The most common accusation of

your critics is that you have not defined Pakistan with sufficient precision – that there are many details of defence, economics, minorities, etc., which you have left deliberately vague. Do you think that is a just criticism?

Jinnah. It is neither just nor intelligent, particularly if it is made by an Englishman with any knowledge of his own history. When Ireland was separated from Britain, the document embodying the terms of separation was approximately *ten lines*. Ten lines of print to settle a dispute of incredible complexity which has poisoned British politics for centuries! All the details were left to the Future – and the Future is often an admirable arbitrator. Well, I've already given the world a good deal more than ten lines to indicate the principles and practice of Pakistan, but it is beyond the power of any man to provide, in advance, a blue-print in which every detail is settled. Besides, Indian history proves that such a blue-print is totally unnecessary. Where was the blue-print when the question of Burmah's separation was decided at the Round Table Conference? Where was the blue-print when Sind was separated from Bombay? The answer, of course, is 'nowhere.' It didn't exist. It didn't need to exist. The vital point was that the principle of separation was accepted; the rest followed automatically.

Beverley Nichols. How would you describe the 'vital principles' of Pakistan?

Jinnah. In five words. The Muslims are a Nation. If you grant that, and if you are an honest man, you must grant the principle of Pakistan. You would have to grant it even if the obstacles were a hundred times more formidable than they actually are. Of course, if you do *not* grant it, then...He shrugged his shoulders and smiled...Then, there is an end of the matter.

Nichols. When you say the Muslims are a Nation, are you thinking in terms of religion?

Jinnah. Partly, but by no means exclusively. *You must remember that Islam is not merely a religious doctrine but a realistic and practical Code of Conduct*. I am thinking in terms of *life*, of everything important in life. I am thinking in terms of our history, our heroes, our art, our architecture, our music, our laws, our jurisprudence...

Nichols. Please, I would like to write these things down.

Jinnah. (*after a pause*) In all these things our outlook is not only fundamentally different but often radically antagonistic to the Hindus. We are different beings. There is nothing in life which links us together. Our names, our clothes, our foods — they are all different; our economic life, our educational ideas, our treatment of women, our attitude to animals...we challenge each other at every point of the compass. Take one example, the eternal question of the cow. We eat the cow, the Hindus worship it. A lot of Englishmen imagine that this 'worship' is merely a picturesque convention, an historical survival. It is nothing of the sort. Only a few days ago, in this very city, the cow question became a matter for the police. The Hindus were thrown into the greatest agitation because cows were being killed in public. But the cow question is only one of a thousand. (*A pause*) What have you written down?

Nichols. I have only written 'The Muslims are a Nation.'

Jinnah. And do you believe it?

Nichlos. I do.

Jinnah. (*with a smile*) What other questions have you got there?

Nichols. The first is economic. Are the Muslims likely to be richer or poorer under Pakistan? And would you set up tariffs against the rest of India?

Jinnah. I'll ask you a question for a change. Supposing you were asked which you would prefere...a rich England under Germany or a poor England free, what would your answer be?

Nichols. It's hardly necessary to say.

Jinnah. Quite. Well, doesn't that make your question look a little shoddy? This great ideal rises far above mere questions of personal comfort or temporary convenience. The Muslims are a tough people, lean and hardy. If Pakistan means that they will have to be a little tougher, they will not complain. But why *should* it mean that? What conceivable reason is there to suppose that the gift of nationality is going to be an economic liability? A sovereign nation of a hundred million people – even if they are not immediately self-supporting and even if they *are* industrially backward – is hardly likely to be in a worse economic position than if its members are scattered and disorganized, under the dominance of two hundred and fifty million Hindus whose one idea is to exploit them. How any European can get up and say that Pakistan is 'economically impossible' after the Treaty of Versailles is really beyond my comprehension. The great brains who cut Europe into a ridiculous patchwork of conflicting and artificial boundaries are hardly the people to talk economics to us, particularly as our problem happens to be far simpler.

Nichols. And does that also apply to defence?

Jinnah. Of course it applies to defence. Once again I will ask *you* a question. How is Afghanistan defended? Well? The answer is not very complicated. By the Afghans. Just that. We are a brave and united people who are prepared to work and, if necessary, fight. So how does the question of defence present any peculiar difficulties? In what way do we differ from other nations? From Iran, for example? Obviously, there will have to be a transition period. We are not asking the British to quit India overnight. The British have helped to make this gigantic

muddle, and they must stay and help to clear it up. But before they can do that, they will have to do a lot of hard thinking. And that reminds me – I have something I would like to show you.

[He excused himself and left the room. I lit a cigarette and waited. And suddenly I realized that something very remarkable was happening, or rather was not happening. I was not losing my temper. Jinnah had been almost brutally critical of British policy (though I have not quoted his remarks in the above dialogue), but his criticism had been clear and creative. It was not merely a medley of wild words, a hotchpotch of hatred and hallucination, in the Hindu manner. It was more like a diagnosis. The difference between Jinnah and the typical Hindu politician was the difference between a surgeon and a witch doctor. Moreover, he was a surgeon you could trust, even though his verdict was harsh.

'The British must realize,' he had said to me before we tackled the problem of Pakistan, 'that they have not a friend in the country. Not a friend.'

A Hindu politician would have said that at the top of his voice; with delight. Jinnah said it quietly, with regret. Here he was again. In his hand he carried a book.]

Jinnah. You will remember I said, a moment ago, that the British would have to do a lot of hard thinking. It's a habit they don't find very congenial; they prefer to be comfortable, to wait and see, trusting that everything will come right in the end. However, when they do take the trouble to think, they think as clearly and creatively as any people in the world. And one of their best thinkers – at least on the Indian problem – was old John Bright. Have you ever read any of his speeches?

Nichols. Not since I left school.

Jinnah. Well, take a look at this. I found it by chance the other day.

He handed me the book. It was a faded old volume, *The Speeches of John Bright*, and the date of the page at which it was opened was June 4th, 1858. This is what the greatest orator in the House of Commons said on that occasion:

'How long does England propose to govern India? Nobody can answer that question. But be it 50 or 100 or 500 years, does any man with the smallest glimmering of common sense believe that so great a country, with its 20 different nationalities and its 20 different languages, can ever be bound up and consolidated into one compact and enduring empire confine? I believe such a thing to be utterly impossible.'

I handed back the book.

Jinnah. What Bright said then is true to-day...In fact, it's far more true, – though, of course, the emphasis is not so much on the 20 nationalities as on the 2...the Muslim and the Hindu. And why is it more true? Why hasn't time brought us together? Because the Muslims are *awake*...because they've learnt, through bitter experience, the sort of treatment they may expect from the Hindus in a 'United India.' A 'United India' means a Hindu-dominated India. It means that and nothing else. Any other meaning you attempt to impose on it is mythical. 'India' is a British creation...it is merely a single administrative unit governed by a bureaucracy under the sanction of the sword. That is all. It is a paper creation, it has no basis in flesh and blood.

Nichols. The ironical thing is that your critics say that Pakistan itself is a British creation – that it is an example of our genius for applying the principle of 'divide and rule.'

Jinnah. (*with some heat*) The man who makes such a suggestion must have a very poor opinion of British intelligence, apart from his opinion of my own integrity. The one thing which *keeps* the British in India is the false idea of a United India, as

preached by Gandhi. A United India, I repeat, is a British creation – a myth, and a very dangerous myth, which will cause endless strife. As long as that strife exists, the British have an excuse for remaining. For once in a way, 'divide and rule' does not apply.

Nichols. What you want is 'divide and quit'?

Jinnah. You have put it very neatly.

Nichols. You realize that all this will come as something of a shock to the British electorate?

Jinnah. Truth is often shocking. But why this truth in particular?

Nichols. Because the average, decent, liberal-minded voter, who wishes Britain to fulfil her pledges, and grant independence to India, has heard nothing but the Congress point of view. The Muslims have hardly a single spokesman in the West.

Jinnah. (*bitterly*) I am well aware of that. *The Hindus have organized a powerful Press and Congress – Mahasabha are backed up by Hindu capitalists and industrialists with finance which we have not got.*

Nichols. As a result they believe that Congress is 'India,' and since Congress never tires of repeating that India is one and indivisible, they imagine that any attempt to divide it is illiberal, reactionary, and generally sinister. They seriously *do* believe this. I know that it is muddle-headed, but then a democracy such as ours, which has to make up its mind on an incredible number of complicated issues usually is muddle-headed. What they have to learn is that the only liberal course, the only generous course, the only course compatible with a sincere intention to quit India and hand over the reins of government...

Jinnah. And the only *safe* course, you might add, is...

Nichols}
Jinnah } Pakistan!

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Speech at the Flag unfurling Ceremony on the occasion of the 31st Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League, Karachi, December 23, 1943.

Speaking from a rostrum to a vast crowd Mr. Jinnah thanked the people of Karachi for the "royal reception" they had accorded him. He felt the honour all the more because Karachi was his birth-place. It was a fitting tribute the city could pay to the representative of the Muslim nation.

Speaking of the goal of Pakistan Mr. Jinnah said: "If we continue to consolidate ourselves, we are bound to achieve our goal. In our efforts to achieve our goal, Sind has a major role to play. Karachi will be the gateway of Pakistan. Pakistan will include Sind, the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan," Mr. Jinnah declared. "Our flag symbolises our national aspirations, and we must keep it aloft."

The Dawn, December 24, 1943.

622

Interview with the representative of the United Press of America, Karachi, December 23, 1943.

"I really do not understand the often repeated demand for Mahatama Gandhi's release," exclaimed Mr. M.A. Jinnah in

a special interview with the local representative of the "*United Press of America*."

Mr. Jinnah could not understand why the people should entertain hopes of Mr. Gandhi's release or blame the British for keeping him in detention. If Mr. Gandhi desired, he could be released to-day. He was arrested for his threat of mass movement. Reason demanded that he should withdraw that threat. If Mr. Gandhi withdrew his threat, there was no reason why he should be detained any longer.

Explaining the Muslim League's attitude towards Congress Mr. Jinnah asked: "Would Congress join hands with the Muslim League if the Muslim League launched a mass movement against the British for not conceding their demand for Pakistan, although Pakistan presupposes independence for three-fourths for Hindu India and one-fourth only for Muslim India."

He knew that Congress would not. Then, how could Congress expect the Muslims to participate in their mass movement when to the Muslims it was as clear as daylight that, if the British conceded the Congress demand for *Akhand Hindustan*, the Muslims would be reduced to a position of hewers of wood and drawers of water, for then the Muslims would be entirely at the mercy of the Hindu majority?

Mr. Jinnah went on to say that Congress aimed a loaded revolver at the British, saying that if the British did not concede the Congress demand, Congress would shoot. This threat was directed not only against the British but at the Muslims also for if the British conceded the Congress demand and allowed the Hindus to deal with the Muslims as they chose, the Muslims would never have their Pakistan or independence. (F.A.C.)

The Dawn, December 25, 1943.

623

Address to Muslim Women National Guard, Karachi, December 24, 1943.

About 60 members of the Muslim Women Natinal Guard neatly dressed in white payjamas, white shirts and green dupatas, were inspected by Mr. Jinnah on 23rd December 1943 in Abdullah Court.

Mr. Jinnah complimented their on them smartness and discipline and said Muslim women have a large part to paly in the attaiment of Pakistan. A great task lies before the Muslim Community and I hope Muslim women will not lag behind the soliders of Paksitan." He expressed the need of organising Women National Guard throughout India."

The Dawn, December 26, 1943.

624

Presidential Address at the 31st Session of the All-India Muslim-League, Karachi, December 24, 1943.

Brother delegates of the All-India Muslim League, ladies and gentlemen:

"I thank you for having once more honoured me and elected me as President of the All-India Muslim League this year. I can only say, as I have repeatedly said, that if there is any call from you for any opportunity to serve, with my heart and soul, Muslim India and the cause for which we stand, I shall neither falter nor hesitate to obey. You know that it is now more than seven years since we undertook the revival, the reorganisation, and the revitalisation of the All-India Muslim League. I think, without exaggeration, it is an undeniable fact

that in these seven strenuous years and in the struggle we have gone through for the last seven years we have made remarkable progress which has been admitted by our friends, by our admirers, and even by our opponents today.

You have shown not only to India, but to the whole world and fully established, that we are a nation and that we shall never rest content until we seize the territory that belongs to us and rule over it.

"The struggle is a long one and is a hard one. It requires of you all – let me tell you and especially those who get impatient and who get into a frame of desperation or despair – to realise that the struggle is a long one, is a hard one, and it calls upon everyone of you – specially I now address the youth_ – everyone of you for patience, hard work, steady progress for building up this great nation to which we belong. I caution that every step has got to be considered from various points of view before we take one step, and the next after one. Well, so far, I think you will admit, that we have met every manoeuvre, every machination, every scheme and design to break us, with success every time. I do not want to give you the whole story; I shall just run through it. We have survived the opposition, which came first from the Government and the bureaucracy, when we undertook to reorganise our movement. Public memory is not always very strong and is very fleeting, and therefore, I think it will be better to repeat it here. That was the first opposition, and that was from the bureaucracy, and, for reasons of their own, that opposition was slackened.

"Then came the terrific onslaught from the Congress-mass-contacts, and challenges. When the Congress Ministries were formed the Muslim League was an anathema to them. The Muslim League was ordered to liquidated itself. The members of the Muslim League were told to abjure their allegiance to this body before the Congress could even touch them. Elections, bye-

elections, then disruptions were created amongst the Muslims, one after another. Congress Mussalmans, Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Ahrar, Azad Conference, Momins, Shias, Sunnis – every effort was made to destroy the Muslim League, but every effort to cause disruption in the Muslim League rebounded upon them as a boomerang, as the Muslim nation knew where their true course to follow was, and yet even today we are not left in peace. But today their methods have changed a bit. Their methods are subtle, insidious and intended to ply underground and undermine the League.

League Now Shock-Proof

I think in the course of my speech I shall have to refer to this later on. But I think that I am not exaggerating when I say the Muslim League and Muslim India have now become shock-proof, slogan-proof and stunt-proof. In fact, it is a proof against every machination. I would most respectfully advise our opponents, be they Congress or Hindu leadership or the British, you cannot break us; you will never be able to break us now. The sooner they realise this, the better. Do not meddle with our affairs.

If you want to come to terms with us, we are always ready and willing to come to terms with the British Government or the Hindus on honourable terms and on no other terms.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, we have gone through, as I said, all these seven years of struggle, and the time has now come for us to examine our balance sheet and take stock. Today, there is not the slightest doubt that it is acknowledged the world over that the Muslim League is the only authoritative and representative organisation of Muslim India. We have got millions and millions of Mussalmans behind us; we have got our flag and our platform, and what is more, our definite goal of Pakistan. We have created a complete unity of ideal and thought. About that there can be no doubt whatsoever. We are completely

united in our ideals and in our thoughts.

Unity of Action

Now has come the stage when it is absolutely essential that we must undertake further steps and start an organisational machinery, directive, efficient, and effective for action, and we must prepare ourselves. Just as we have established, after seven years, unity of ideals and unity of thought, so we must in the next period of our programme, establish complete unity of action. Now, before you take any action, you must be qualified for it. And what are the necessary requisites which would qualify you for an effective action?

Constructive Work

First, you must undertake, in real earnest, a constructive programme for the uplift of our people, educationally, socially, economically and politically. It is now for you, the delegates of the All-India Muslim League, who are here from all parts of India, to apply your minds seriously to these questions. I know we have not got an air-force; I know we have not got tanks; I know we have not got any army; I know we have not got any navy. You will get all that. You may not require it even. There may be no need for it, provided you have the will and determination and unfaltering faith and unity, and faith in your cause. You will achieve your goal, provided you organise yourselves thoroughly and efficiently.

Therefore, I urge upon you at this session that it is most essential to take the next step to set up an organisational machinery.

It is for you to consider this in the Subjects Committee. I can only put my views before you. But I suggest that now the work of the Muslim League organisation has grown beyond the physical capacity of any single man. If you were to know what I

have to attend to all alone, you would be astonished. All over India, today this thing happening in Patna; tomorrow that thing happening in Bengal; the day after tomorrow this thing happening in N.W.F.P.; the day after that this thing happening in Madras. All sorts of questions arise from day to day and from week to week. Now it is not possible for one single man to do justice to all this.

And remember the position of Muslim India, if I can explain by analogy, is this. When a man is sick and almost dying, he has not got energy either to complain or to ask for anything. He is practically unconscious of what is happening around him, and he does not care what is going to happen to him, the world, or anybody else. He is in a semi-unconscious state or almost on the point of death. That sick man on the death-bed has not the energy to say anything and cannot do anything. He has not got the energy even to complain.

That was the condition of Muslim India seven years ago; but today, the sick man has recovered from his death-bed. He has acquired consciousness. He is not only convalescent, but he is in a position to move about. Now he has got so many grievances, so many suggestions and proposals to make, so many disputes, and so many quarrels to settle. It is a good sign, provided it is kept within limits. It is a very good sign of a healthy man. I get some suggestions which are splendid ones, and thoughtful ones, and very good too. I get complaints and petty quarrels, which I do not like. But anyhow it is a healthy sign. In one word, let me put it to you this way. I am thankful to God that Muslim India is awake; I am thankful that Muslim India has regained consciousness. I am thankful that Muslim India is taking interest in things around it, not only in India, but throughout the world. I am thankful that Muslim India is taking an intelligent interest in everything that is going on now.

I am asked why the Muslim League should not establish

a complete machinery and bureau to set up national industries for Muslim India all over India and especially in Pakistan. Why should we not undertake planning? Why should we not undertake the establishment of big and heavy industries in Pakistan? Why should the Muslim League not undertake the planning of a national system of Muslim education? I am only giving just a few instances – I have got a number of them to go on mentioning till midnight but I shall not do that.

Committe of Action

All these proposals, suggestions and demands are pouring in. As I say, this is a very good sign. Now, we are also self-conscious. We are also alive to the stage that we have reached. My humble advice to the delegates of the All-India Muslim League is this. At any rate we may not be able to achieve or realise all these demands at once. Nor can we immediately put into operation all the various suggestions and proposals. But the stage has come when it is absolutely essential that you must have a Committee of Action, a Committee consisting of not less than five and not more than seven. It should be the function of this Committee to undertake not only to organise, further organise, co-ordinate and unify as an All-India policy, but also examine the various demands and proposals and suggestions that come from time to time.

In other words, we want a Committee with a Secretariat. I, therefore, ask you, brother delegates, to consider this question most seriously.

It is true we are not flushed with money. In a way, my expectations have not been realised. I made an appeal for funds. I think the Muslims could have done it. But still it has not happened. I made an appeal for funds of at least Rs.10,00,000. That was more than a year and nine months, or very nearly two years, ago. Anyhow I have received some support. I have been getting some encouragement. Up to the present moment I have

realised about Rs.5,50,000. Well, this money is not collected for the purpose of investment. This money is not collected for the purpose of multiplying it. But this money is collected for the purpose of helping the Muslim League organisation and its development. I am sure we shall get more funds. Of that I am confident. But we need not wait till we get more. Let us at least do something out of what we have got. We are in a position now to set up an efficient secretariat and this Committee of Action.

Next, you know the Parliamentary activities are growing. We are, as you know, fighting bye-elections sometimes. We had bye-elections in the North-West Frontier Province. We had a bye-election only recently in Shikarpur. Now, with regard to your Parliamentary activities, it is absolutely essential and necessary that there should be a supreme body. For that purpose, again, my respectful suggestion is that you should have an All-India Parliamentary Board consisting of three persons. I tell you why. A number of candidates apply for the ticket of the All-India Muslim League. Some of them are rejected – may be rightly, may be wrongly. When disputes arise, there is no machinery of a standing character, that can be approached at once and can be appealed to, to intervene and do justice.

"You know that in the local affairs there are certain prejudices. You know that very often familiarity breeds contempt and distrust. This is so not only in India but everywhere else. You know there are local intrigues and cliques. At present our machinery is not efficient, and, therefore, it cannot work efficiently. At present the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League is the authority for the purpose of giving the Muslim League ticket to the candidates for various elections – not only the elections to the Assembly or the Upper House such as in Bengal where there are two Houses but with regard to Municipalities, District Boards and Local Boards. In some of the provinces the Working Committees have appointed Parliamentary Boards."

Court of Appeal

But, ladies and gentlemen, as you know, even in an ordinary litigation the litigants are not satisfied unless they can go to the Privy Council. There is always the subordinate judge or the District Judge, and there is the High Court and there is the Privy Council. Well, people get more satisfied when they go to the High Court, because it is a detached body, away from local surroundings and local atmosphere. People are still more satisfied, even the losing party is more satisfied, when they get a decision from the Privy Council, because it is a detached body. Similarly, it is necessary that we must have a final court of appeal as a detached body of three persons who would be appointed by the All-India authority of the Muslim League.

Therefore, these two bodies are absolutely essential, and we must not lose any time in creating and appointing these two bodies.

No doubt there are many other questions, which will require our consideration – educational planning, economic planning, social planning. These are very big questions, but once you have set up a Committee of five or seven, believe me it will be the beginning of examination of all these various questions, and there will then be an efficient machinery which will be able to direct, guide, and control all these various suggestions, and, if possible, put them into practice. That stage has come. These are my concrete suggestions to you for further strengthening, further organising, further consolidating, and further creating more strength, more power and more vigour in the organisation of the All-India Muslim League.

The Food Problem

The next question that I would like to place before you is this. It is the food problem. Ladies and gentlemen, I must tell you that I called a meeting of the five Premiers from the

dominant Muslim League Ministries and dominant Muslim provinces. I invited them to met me in Delhi about the 15th or 16th November. They were all good enough to come, except the Premier of Assam, Sir Saadullah. But then he wrote expressing his inability and deputed Mr. Abdul Matin Chowdhry, his colleague and Minister in the Assam Government. Amongst other things that I had to consult them about, this food problem was discussed with them at great length. Let me tell you there was entire agreement among all these five provinces. It is absolutely untrue, as it is misrepresented in a certain section of the press, that they were divided.

"It is further absolutely untrue that Lord Wavell took the wind out of our sails by summoning them over my head while they were in Delhi. It is after full discusion and after agreement that we ourselves asked Lord Wavell to meet the Premiers and discuss the food problem. He was good enough to give an immediate appointment and time the very next day. It is in consequence of that arrangement that the Muslim League Premiers had an interview with Lord Wavell. It is utterly false to say that there was any difference of opinion. It is utterly false to say that Lord Wavell upset my machinations. There were no machinations at all. Ours was a plain, honest, straightforward position. It was this that so far as the food trouble in India was concerned, knowing as we did the conditions and the constitution of the Government of India, we were ready and willing, for very good reasons and obvious reasons, and, above all, in the name of humanity, to do everything in our power to avert this scourge of famine and the shadow of death, and prevent recurrence of it anywhere in this country.

Cultivators' Interests

Actuated by this motive, the whole situation was discussed. It is not at all true that these provinces or anyone of them represented by the Muslim Premiers are not alive fully to

their sense of responsibility or are actuated by any vested interests. The real issue was, ladies and gentlemen, not that we did not recognise the efficacy of control; and that we did not recognise the efficacy of procurement; not that we did not recognise the efficacy of rationing; not that we did not recognise that under the present system of government and conditions under which we are living, there must be uniform policy; but the real issue – and that real issue is not clear – was: Are the agriculturists and the producers of foodgrains to be bled to fatten the industrialists? Is there going to be one rule of justice for one class or one interest, and another rule of justice and fairplay for another class and another interest?

"What we urged and what we still urge is that if you want to control foodgrains, you must equally, in all earnestness and sincerity, control the prices of all other essential articles and essential ingredients which are necessary for the existence of the very man, the agriculturist, whom you want to control.

'Let me put it to you this way: Today I am a producer; I am an agriculturist. You say to me: look here, before the war or even some time after the war, you got only Re. 1 for a seer or whatever of food? I am going to give you Rs.3 for the same measure. Well, what are you giving me? When I got that Re. 1 before the war or even for some time after the war, that Re.1 had the purchasing power not of Rs. 3 of today but of Rs. 5 of today. What is the good of giving me 5 notes of one rupee each, and, when I go to buy my necessaries of life, these five rupees of mine are not equal to the old one rupee but only to 12 annas?

"Therefore, you don't count in terms of currency or number of notes, but you go in terms of the value of your currency paper, and the purchasing power in the bazaar for the necessaries of life. That is the real issue. That is the issue which the Government of India have got to tackle. Unless they come out with a clear-cut and honest policy of giving a fair deal to all

interests, it is no use oppressing only the agriculturist and the producer, and giving undue advantages to other interests at the cost of farmers. (cries of no, no, never).

The Political Situation

"Ladies and gentlemen, the next question that I wish to deal with is the political situation in the country. So far as the political situation in the country is concerned, addressing the Council of the All-India Muslim League last November, I said that there was no change and nothing new had happened. The position today before you briefly is this. The British Government are playing. More or less it is clear, and it has been repeatedly made clear. They say one thing at one time and another thing at another time. But the result is that they tell Mussalmans that 'we are not against Pakistan, but it is the Hindus who are against it.' They tell the Hindus, 'we are not against Akhand Hindustan, but it is the Mussalmans who are against it.' They are, it seems, only in favour of one thing – to see how their own Raj should continue. But so far as the Hindus and Mussalmans are concerned, I put it to you again, ladies and gentlemen, if my voice can go beyond this *pandal* to those also who are really honest and sincere well-wishers of the people of India – can we, Muslim India, accept Akhan Hindustan and Hindu Raj over this entire sub-continent? (Cries of no, no, never.)

"Is it possible to expect us, unless we are unconscious – and we were unconscious before the war, but now we are fully conscious – to expect Muslim India to agree to Akhand Hindustan and Hindu Raj in this sub-continent? (Cries of 'it is not possible') But that is the proposal, and they have not yet given up their dreams. On the other hand, there is the talk of independence. I ask, whose independence? I warn you, and I have repeatedly warned you, they mean the independence of Hindu India and the slavery of Muslim India. Now what do we say? We say "Pakistan."

"Ladies and gentlemen, I ask any intelligent man if he would only apply his mind for one second, can you achieve Pakistan without the independence of India? (cries of no" It is impossible.) When we say Pakistan, we mean, not our independence only, but the independence of Hindus also.

"If the Hindu, owing to obsession, dream or cursedness still puts obstructions in the way of the freedom of both and insists upon the freedom of one and the slavery of the other, then I ask you, who is the man, who is the party, except the Hindus who are responsible for the holding up of the progress of this country? Well, that has ben obvious for a long time. But for the pronouncements of Lord Wavell, the present Viceroy, there would have been nothing new. Lord Wavell made a speech recently at the Associated Chambers of Commerce meeting, Calcutta, as is the custom and tradition of every Viceroy to make important announcements at the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce, a foreign corporation. He, in his speech, has said what was more or less already clear, although the previous Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, indulged in subtleties and embellishments.

Viceroy's Plain Language

"Mr. Amery preached to the world as to the attitude and the policy of the British Government regarding the Indian constitutional problem with great finesse. Recently Mr. Amery made it clear through somebody that the principles of the Atlantic Charter were made applicable to India eighteen months before the Atlantic Ocean produced the Atlantic Charter. But what was, as I said full of subtleties, embellishments and finesse, which these two great statesmen practised, the solider-like Viceroy, Lord Wavell, has spoken in plain language, so that even a man in the street can understand. I think those of you who have read that speech know where you stand and how you stand. In that respect Lord Wavell has made a great contribution

to the political problem of India. What does he say? Of course his mental bag, he probably found it necessary to jettison in the Mediterranean before he crossed the Suez Canal, and he is no more embarrassed by his bag.

"What does he say now? He says 'I do not believe that political differences can be solved by administrative actions or by talking about them at present.' I am quite sure they cannot be solved by talking. I am quite sure they cannot be solved by administrative actions either. There is nothing new about that. The Viceroy then says that he still believes that he can solve all immediate economic problems. He also believes that he can materially tackle the post-war reconstruction and the food problems. So, having put the political issue in the cold storage for all practical purposes, or at any rate indefinitely, although he does not say that it is put in cold storage till after the war, he proceeds to say: 'I am concentrating on the job we have to do.' What is the job or work that he has to do? The winning of the war is number one.

"Ladies and gentlemen, it is really astonishing that he, the representative of the Crown, speaking with responsibility and in all seriousness, thinks that he can win this war, while he is totally indifferent to the political situation in India. What is happening in this world? Is the British Government not concerned with the winning of the war? What happened when the Lebanan question came? What happened when the Syrian question came? Were all these political adjustments made from merely the humanitarian point of view or from the political point of view? What happened when differences took place in Algiers between the French? What is happening in other parts of the world?

Ladies and gentlemen, it is really astonishing, it is sheer blindness to say 'my job is only to win the war.' To win the war and how? With all humility, I say to the British Government:

'You have got to get the whole-hearted, and enthusiastic support of some party in this country if not of all.'

"The next thing Viceroy is going to do is the organisation of the economic home front. How is he going to do that? He tells you how he is going to do it. He says that amongst the jobs that he has to do is the economic home front and preparations for peace by using all resources which India has in determination, energy and intelligence. May I know, how he is going to get all the resources of India in determination, energy and intelligence, when every party is kept at arm's length, discontented and dissatisfied? But this is how he is going to accomplish it. He says: 'For this purpose (winning the war, the economic home front, the post-war reconstruction, and the mobilising of the resources of India in determination, energy and intelligence), I would welcome co-operation from any one or any body.' I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, is this really not a flagrant abuse of the English word, 'co-operation'? What co-operation? Does it not, in plain language, mean that without giving any part, any real share in the authority of the Government, we are asked to do the work of camp-followers, menials and subservients? Can you expect any self-respecting organisation to accept the position? (Cries of 'no').

Amazing Complacency

"Even if we were so foolish as to fall in with this fantastic suggestion, can any intelligent man believe that we can ever succeed in putting real enthusiasm into the people and secure their whole-hearted and genuine support and co-operation? Can we succeed in making them war-minded, when we are invited to assist the Viceroy as camp-followers, as menials or as subservients? It is amazing this complacency with which these pronouncements are made. Does it not really mean, in plain language, that the British Government are pursuing a definite policy, and they do not want the co-operation of any party – it

does not matter which party it is. Congress has decided to non-co-operate. Congress has decided to resort to mass civil disobedience if their demands are not conceded. Congress has been outlawed. What has the rest of India done that you should talk to them in this language, which nobody can tolerate or even understand?

Divide and Quit

"We have, time and again, made it clear, we have offered our hand of co-operation for the job of work that Lord Wavell wants to do, provided our hand is accepted as that of a confident friend with a share, real share in the authority of the Government, and with a definite promise that we shall get our share in the fruits of victory when we win it. That has been rejected. They speak of organisations – the Congress, Hindu organisation which represents, no doubt, the solid body of Hindu opinion, and the Muslim League which represents the solid body of Muslim opinion. They have outlawed the one. Well, I suppose they would like to outlaw the Muslim League also. We are quite ready for it.

"Why do you, dishonestly and falsely, bracket these organisations together and treat them on the same basis and beat them with the same stick? That is my complaint. It is not honest. I am of the opinion that this policy that is pursued by the British Government – after all, Lord Wavell is only acting according (what shall I say?) to the instrument of instructions of the British policy which has already been decided – this British policy is going to prove disastrous. You know Mr. Charchill, some time ago, said that he was not called or summoned to be the first Minister of the King to preside over liquidation of the British Empire.

"Now I can tell him this, that voluntary liquidation is more honourable than a compulsory one.

"It will redound to the honour of the British nation, and it will be recognised by us as an act of friendship which has got its value and assets in the future. But compulsory liquidation will have none of those advantages, and the British Empire will have to be liquidated one day, whether you like it or not. I will only trouble you with one quotation, as it is rather interesting. This is what John Bright said in 1858. John Bright was making his speech when the India Bill was introduced in the Parliament on the occasion of the assumption of sovereignty over India by the British Queen. In that speech he said:

'How long does England propose to govern India? Nobody can answer it. May be, 50 or 100 or 500 years. Does any man with the smallest glimmering of commonsense believe that so great a country with its 20 different nations and 20 different languages, can ever be bound up and consolidated into one compact and enduring empire? I believe such a thing to be utterly impossible. We must fail in the attempt if ever we make it, and we are bound to look into the future with reference to that point. The Madras Presidency, for instance, having its own government, would, in 50 years, become one compact State, and every part of the Presidency would look to the city of Madras as its capital, and to the Government of Madras as its ruling power. If that were to go on for a century or more, there would be five or six presidencies of India, built up into so many compact States; and if, at any future period, the sovereignty of England should be withdrawn, we should leave so many presidencies built up and firmly compacted together, each able to support its own independence and its own government, and we should be able to say we had not left the country a prey to that anarchy and discord which is to be inevitable if we insist on holding those vast territories with the idea of building them up into one great empire.'

"This is what John Bright said in 1858. After 85 years we are now impressing upon the successors to those great

British statesmen that the only way, the only honest way, for great Britain is to divide and quit. Unity can only be realised on the basis of division of property and possession between the respective two nations, the Hindus and the Mussalmans. The other minorities will be the acid test. It will be the sacred, solemn duty of Pakistan and Hindustan to safeguard, to protect, to give a fair and just deal to the minorities who would be under the two zones.

Answer to Communists

"Well, now we come to the Congress and Hindu leadership, Gentlemen, I see no change except a parrot-like cry. I find that the cleverest party that is carrying on propaganda are the Communists. They have got so many flags, and I think they consider that there is safety in number. They have got the Red flag; they have got the Russian flag; they have got the Soviet flag; they have got the Congress flag. And now they have been good enough to introduce our flag also. Well, when a man has got too many flags I get suspicious. They shout that they want a Congress-League settlement. Who says no? But the question is, on what basis? It is no use repeating this parrot-like cry that we want a Congress-League settlement. On what basis?

Mr. Gandhi in his letter which he wrote to Lord Linlithgow on January 19, 1943, as a part of the correspondence between him and ex-Viceroy, says:

'If I could be convinced of my error or worse I should need to consult nobody, so far as my own action is concerned, to make a full and open confession and make ample amends. But I have not any conviction of error. I wonder if you saw my letter to the Secretary to the Government of India of September 23, 1942. I adhere to what I have said in it and in my letter to you of August 14, 1942.'

"Well now this was in January 1943. Am I wrong, am I

doing injustice if I say that the clear meaning of this letter is that, when Mr. Gandhi wrote it, he stood every inch by the August 1942 resolution and the policy, and the demand made in that resolution? I do not want to worry you unnecessarily. But those of you who have read that resolution must come to this conclusion – there is no other conclusion – Mr. Gandhi and the Congress not only did not consult the Muslim League, not only ignored the Muslim League, but it was a definite, determined and deliberate attempt to by-pass the Muslim League and to force the hands of the British Government to surrender to their demands, which would mean death to the Muslim demands. Mr. Gandhi says in his letter of January 1943, in effect says, 'I stick to my guns.'

To Vikramaditya Age

"Well, ladies and gentlemen, if Mr. Gandhi sticks to his guns, and if he is holding a pistol at us – not at the British only but at us – and wants to by-pass us, and there is no change in his policy, may I ask any man with commonsense. What is the basis on which any negotiations can proceed and can fructify into any reasonable settlement? Has there been any change since January 1943? Is there any indication or sign of it? Millions of Congressmen are outside the jail. On the contrary, they have been contemplating the form of Government that could be based on the ancient culture and the political system which prevailed in the days of that great Hindu historic period of Vikramaditya. I ask any sensible man, and fair-minded man, how is it possible for us to accept that position?

"A few isolated Hindu leaders have shown some sort of sympathy with our point of view. But when they talk, they talk in a language of subtlety. In fact, to begin with, they are afraid to use the word 'Pakistan'. They prefer to use the phraseology of 'self determination.' When they are talking of self-determination, they talk about it with their tongue in their

cheek, and wind up by saying: Well, we are willing to go as far as possible. In the same breath when responsible Hindu leaders speak in this dubious language, they turn against us, and we are told that we are non-coperating with the Congress, if we don't agree with them. I ask you; Is there any iota of truth in that? It is the other way. It is the Congress which is responsible and which forced us to defend our rights and ourselves.

"To start with, it is the Congress that would not touch the League with a pair of tongs. It is the Congress to whom the League was an antathema. They corrupted Mussalmans, by way of offering Ministries, to give up the League; they picked up any Muslim who was willing to abuse the League, and demanded that the Muslim League should be liquidated. That is the the Congress.

"So far as we are concerned, it is not a question of non-co-operation. It is a question of defence against the Congress having taken up the attitude, since 1937, to dominate the Mussalmans and to establish, by hook or by crook, Hindu Raj and Hindu Government. We are defending ourselves against that monstrosity, those machinations, and those designs. It is not a question of non-co-operation at all. Then again we are told politely, but again most untruthfully, that our demands are impossible demands. We are not told what is impossible demand that we are making. But we are told this that Hindus will begin to prefer to make the best of things as they stand at present rather than agree to what they honestly deem to be our unreasonable demands.

'Sings Not Wanting'

"So rather than agree to what they consider our unreasonable demands, the Hindus will, and are ready to, accept the British Raj. We are not told what is our unreasonable demand, which makes them so desperate, except that we refuse to accept or agree to the establishment of Hindu Raj. Then we

are told that signs are indeed not wanting, from which we may infer that this process has already begun, the process that the Hindus are ready and willing to accept the British Raj.

"Lastly, we are told that our indifference to the goal of independence – we are indifferent to the goal of independence – mark these words –would lead the Muslim youth to rebel against the League. Now, is this not subtle ? Is this not untruthful? Is this not suggesting that we are indifferent to the goal of independence? Is it not slighting the Muslim youth to say that the elder politicians of their's are indifferent to the goal of independence? Let me tell you from this platform that this is a vicious, sinister, wicked propaganda to incite the Muslim youth against the League. There is no truth whatsoever in the suggestion that we are reconciled to the British Raj. On the contrary, we are told by this authority that signs are, indeed, not wanting that the Hindus are willing to accept British Raj rather than come to a settlement with us."

(Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan: Who was the Hindu leader that said all this?)

The Hindu leader that has said all this is Mr. Rajgopalacharia. You will find it in his pamphlet entitled, "*The Way Out*."

"Well, ladies and gentlemen, that is the position so far as the Hindu opinion is concerned. Now all I can say to you is this. We cannot depend upon any one, and we do not depend upon any one. It is only by our own inherent strength, by our work, by our service, by our sacrifices, that we shall achieve this goal of ours – Pakistan. Hindus cannot give you Pakistan. The utmost that the Hindu can do is not to obstruct you, so that he may get his freedom and you may get your freedom. That is the utmost that he can do – withdraw his obstruction with a reasonable chance of his getting his freedom and our getting our freedom. The British Government can give it, because they are in

possession. Whether they make up their mind to give or whether they do not make up their mind to give, or whether they go on camouflaging, evading, putting forward plausible excuses – I am confident that with all their diplomacy, with all their great genius in bamboozling-people, in befooling people, we are now shock-proof even against the diplomacy of the British Government. They cannot and will be able to, prevent us from seizing Pakistan.

We have made a beginning. It is a small beginning. It is not for the sake of getting jobs for our people as Ministers that we are approving those Ministries being formed and functioning where Mussalmans are in the majority.

"We have taken the first step. These Ministries are there, because of the Muslim League behind them. It is Muslim League, through its agents, that has seized such power – limited power – as there is. This is only a part, which will make a contribution to the whole of our organisational fields. If our Ministers utilise properly such powers as they possess, limited as they are, they can, if they are so minded, galavanise, consolidate, unify, and make the Muslim League a living force in those provinces. At the same time they can immediately undertake measures of an ameliorative character and a constructive programme, not with a view to do injustice to the minorities, but for ameliorative purposes of their provinces. Socially, educationally, economically, they can, within these limited powers, render great service to their respective provinces if they are so minded. Well, we are trying the experiment. Let us see what emerges from this laboratory.

Starving Bengal

"Now, I wish to say this – – and I think I shall be echoing the feelings and sentiments of every person who is present here and even outside – that our deepest, most heartfelt and sincerest sympathies go out to the people of Bengal in their suffering from this terrible famine that has overtaken them. Let us pray that

this scourge will disappear, and let us pray that it will not recur not only in Bengal but in any other part of India.

"In conclusion, I say to you, everyone – man, woman and child, young and old – stand unflinchingly, without faltering. In Pakistan lies our deliverance, our defence and our destiny."

"All India Muslim League, Karachi Session, December, 1943, Verbatum Report of the Presidential Address (Delivered Extempore) by Quaid-e-Azam Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Printed & Published by S. Shamsul Hassan, Assistant Secretary, All India Muslim League at Muslim League Printing Press, Daryaganj, Delhi, 1945. pp. 1-22 & The Dawn, January 12, 1944.

625

Speech in reply to the Civic Address presented by the Karachi Municipal Corporation, Karachi, December 25, 1943.

"An appeal to everyone to make his contribution to bring about a settlement of the communal problem was made by Mr. Jinnah, replying to an address of welcome presented to him by the Karachi Municipal Corporation. He said: "I know it is the universal desire among all communities that instead of the bitterness, the feuds, and the futile controversies in which we waste our time and energies, there should be a friendly settlement between ourselves. It is not merely by expressing a desire or wishing for it that we can accomplish it. I appeal to everyone to make a concrete, solid, and definite contribution to bring about that settlement." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, December 26, 1943.

626

Speech on the occasion of the election of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan as Honorary General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League at the Muslim League Session, Karachi, December 26, 1943.

"In putting the proposition to vote Mr. M.A. Jinnah described Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan as "my right hand". He, the Nawabzada, had "worked and served" day and night, and none could possibly have an idea of the great burden he shouldered. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Mr. Jinnah continued, commanded the universal respect and confidence of the Mussalmans. Though a Nawabzada, he was a thorough proletarian, and he hoped other Nawabs in the country would follow his example. Mr. Jinnah paid a tribute to the General Secretary for the services he had rendered to the League during the last seven years and wished him a long life of service to the community.

The Dawn, December 27, 1943.

627

Concluding Speech at the Karachi Session of the All-India Muslim League, Karachi, December 26, 1943.

"Winding up the proceedings of the session, Mr. M.A. Jinnah expressed his satisfaction at the magnificent success of the meeting. He paid a tribute to Mr. Yusuf Haroon, the General Secretary, and Mr. G.M. Syed, Chairman of the Reception Committee respectively, and to the other members and workers of the Committee, for their untiring efforts which had made the session a great success.

Mr. Jinnah cordially thanked the delegates for the great success of the session. Both in the presidential procession and inside the *pandal* he saw Muslims of every section Khojas, Memons, Bhoras, Pathans, in fact of every class, and it showed clearly that Muslims were united.

What was it that kept the Muslims united as one man, and what was the bedrock and sheet-anchor of the community, asked Mr. Jinnah. "Islam," he said, and added: "It is the Great Book, Quran, that is the sheet-anchor of Muslim India. I am sure that as we go on and on there will be more and more of oneness – one God, one Book, one Qibla, one Prophet and one Nation"

The Dawn December 27, 1943.

628

Speech in reply to the address presented by the Karachi Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Karachi, December 27, 1943.

"The need for developing to the utmost the enormous economic potentialities of the Pakistan area was stressed by Mr. Jinnah replying to an address presented to him by the Karachi Muslim Chamber of Commerce.

After advising the Muslim commercial community to be up and doing, Mr. Jinnah pointed out that the economic position was one of the strongest pillars of a nation. Great wars between nations had been caused through economic factors. The more powerful and stronger the Muslims become in the economic sphere the sooner would they achieve Pakistan.

Continuing, Mr. Jinnah said: "You have got in the Pakistan areas an enormous field and enormous scope if you only look around: if only you will see them properly and seize

them." He advised the Chamber to handle the question scientifically.

The Dawn, December 28, 1943

629

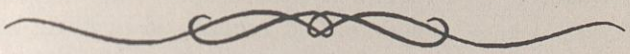
Speech at an 'At Home' given by the Karachi City Muslim League, Karachi, December 29, 1943.

"The All-Inida Muslim League session at Karachi was a turning-point in the history of Muslim India," said Mr. M.A. Jinnah, in an address to the Muslims of Karachi.

Mr. Jinnah who was speaking at an At Home given by the City Muslim League added that the day of merely passing resolutions and holding conferences was over and the Muslim League must now approach the masses and endeavour to raise their standard of living. In that respect the resolution of the League session in appointing a Committee of Action was a turning-point.

Mr. Jinnah was glad that the younger generation of Muslims were active and were taking a decisive part in the League organisation. (A.P.I.).

The Dawn, December 30, 1943.



1944

630

Speech at an 'At Home' given by the Muslim League Party in the Karachi Municipal Corporation, Karachi, January 2, 1944.

"The solid work that you have done in the Karachi Municipal Corporation is a testimony to what can be done by Muslims both in the sphere of civil welfare and the consolidation of Muslim nation as a whole", said Mr. M. A. Jinnah at an 'At Home' given in his honour by the Muslim League Party in the Karachi Municipal Corporation.

"Mr. Jinnah advised them to work together as brothers and in a team spirit. Therein lies the strength of the Muslim nation," said Mr. Jinnah. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, January 3, 1944.

631

Interview to the Associated Press, Karachi, January 5, 1944

"In an interview to a representative of the 'Associated Press', on the eve of his departure from Karachi, Mr. M. A.. Jinnah, President, All-India Muslim League declared that the crux of the Conferences of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Liberal Federation at Amritsar and Bombay and the attitude of Mr. Gandhi and the Congressmen, clearly indicated that the Pakistan demand of Muslim India was thoroughly reasonable and justified.

"Mr. Jinnah added, "Mr. Gandhi, as I pointed out in my

address at the Karachi Session of the Muslim League on the authority of his letter to the viceroy dated January 19, 1943, was not prepared to budge an inch from the August Resolution and since then, there is no indication of any change from Mr. Gandhi or the Congressmen outside. The Hindu Mahasabha has gone one better at Amritsar and has clearly shown, that they are for the establishment of a Vedic Hindu Government over this entire sub-continent.

"And the Liberals have, as usual, passed a vague resolution advising all and sundary as to what they should do without making any concrete proposals of their own. But the main object underlying these conferences was to shelve the demand of Pakistan some how or the other. That is the net result, and all the Hindu organisations have got one aim and objective as against Muslim India, namely how they can torpedo Pakistan and jam in some system of Government immediately which will so tie up and tie down the Mussalmans as to make it impossible for them later on to press the Pakistan issue. All these efforts, in my view, are futile. Muslim India and the Muslim League have made up their mind definitely and can only proceed on the basis of Pakistan being agreed upon and there can be no compromise on the question of partition and division of India."

After that question is settled, said Mr. Jinnah, the Muslim League would be ready and willing to consider any proposal on honourable terms to set up an interim provisional composite Government, for the duration of the war and for the defence of India and the prosecution of the war. And we shall be ready to give and make our best contribution for that purpose."

Definition

Asked to define or redefine the basis of such a partition. Mr. Jinnah said, he had already done so in his presidential speeches at the Muslim League Session times out of number and

added, "I mean a partition in terms of the Lahore resolution of 1940 that the provinces in which the Mussalmans are in a majority should form themselves into an independent state, and the rest of India – which is 3/4 Hindustan. There the provinces would be at liberty to form themselves into an independent state, so that there will be two independent states, Pakistan and Hindustan.

Naturally, explained Mr. Jinnah, "Pakistan will have its units, as may be determined upon by the Mussalmans and Hindustan will have its units as may be determined upon by the Hindus.

Asked whether he would now take the initiative to make a settlement possible, Mr. Jinnah said: "but with whom am I to negotiate? I must have some one who represents the Hindus and with whom I can negotiate, but the political aims of various Hindu organisations are different and they do not agree upon amongst themselves, and so far as the British are concerned, they are quite indifferent." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, January 6, 1944

632

Speech at the Anjuman Islam Janmahomed Cassam Commercial School, Bombay, January 28, 1944.

"Mussalmans do not want to work. Sustained effort is an impossibility with them. They want best things of the life without work. Change this mentality. Only hard work, energy and working together like an army will enable you to get all what you want", said Mr. Jinnah presiding over the Annual Prize Distribution function of Anjuman Islam Janmahomed Cassam Commercial School established in 1942.

Mr. Jinnah continued: "War has created the need of such institution. To show distinct results, spade work is necessary. It requires activity and energy. We should have more institutions."

Mr. Jinnah further said: "The Tatas donated Rs.50,000 for Muslim education which I distributed", and added: "Commercial education is most essential for Muslims. After years of study in our Universities, what field is open to them. What is the use if, they do not get more than Rs.60. There is a lot of field in the world of business. Give up crowded professions and devote your energies to more useful channels with hand-work and sustained effort. With study you can climb the highest rung of the ladder. Without education, we can achieve nothing in life and even if we achieve, it will not be possible to retain." (O.P.)

The Dawn, January 31, 1944.

633

Speech at the opening ceremony of the Students' Jinnah Library, Bombay, February 1, 1944.

"Unity of action now is the first and foremost task of Muslims to achieve their goal," said Mr. M. A. Jinnah while opening students' Jinnah Library in the Anjuman-i-Islam Hall.

Pointing to the education of students, he said that it did not mean the passing of examinations or getting employment only, but it really meant the acquisition of general knowledge of what was going on all over India and beyond India.

Need for Study of Politics

He emphasised that the students should study politics and should have a press of their own. They should understand

current political problems, as they were the torch-bearers of the future.

Mr. Jinnah said that to-day 99 per cent of Muslims were in the Muslim League and everybody knows its organisation, "In our struggle so far, we have established the unity of thought and one ideal as our goal. Now our task is to establish unity of action. Now we have to consolidate Muslim India as one.

Unity of Action

To achieve unity of action, we will have to lay some foundation and build some pillars first. They are educational, economical and social. Only after building these three pillars we will be able to place the last pillar and that will be the political pillar.

We have come to the conclusion now that it is impossible for us to live unitedly in India. Therefore we say: 'Divide and live'. There can never be Pakistan or Free Muslim India without a Free Hindu India. Hindus know better than ourselves that we are two brothers in a joint family system of India-our home. When one brother is not treated properly, he is given his share. So why should not we Hindus and Muslims?"

AFM/KU/QA/Clip 12/p.78

634

Speech at a Meeting of the Bombay District Muslim Students' Federation, Bombay, February 2, 1944.

Emphasising the determination of the Muslims to achieve their goal of Pakistan, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, addressing the Bombay District Muslim Students' Federation, appealed to Muslim youths to give their best in the building up of the pillars

upon which, he said, would rest the edifice of Pakistan.

The pillars were educational, economic, social and political uplift of their people and in their construction the first three should have a priority before they could tackle the political problem. Hard work, industry, and perseverance should be the key-note of Muslim youth in their task ahead, he said.

Mr. Jinnah, who, replying to an address of welcome presented to him by the Bombay District Muslim Students' Federation, advised the students to take a deep interest in not only what was happening to the Muslims but what was happening throughout India and all over the world. He was gland that the Federation had opened a library but warned them that education should not mean that they should be book worms or get through examinations by cramming. They must acquire a general knowledge.

Mr. Jinnah asked what the Federation had done and what contribution they had made to the progress of the Muslims. He urged that students should do some concrete work which would have definite results in the social, educational and economic spheres of the life of Muslims.

League's Strength

Referring to the Muslim League organisation Mr. Jinnah said that it could be asserted without exaggeration that the League today represented 99 per cent of the Mussalmans in this country. There were millions of Mussalmans who were in the League and many more millions of them who, though technically not in the League, yet stood by the League. They had a great struggle in front of them. So far by dint of hard and strenuous labour and perseverance they had established amongst Muslims a unity of ideal with one goal. Now it remained for them to establish unity of action.

Pillars

He knew that many of his young friends were getting impatient, and were asking what he was going to do. With millions of Mussalmans rallied under the League they should now see that there was a proper machinery for the purpose of further organising, and harnessing, and consolidating, and co-ordinating the efforts of Muslim India. In order to make the Muslims a strong and solid nation they must find out and acquire the necessary ingredients that went to the building up a strong nation. The pillars upon which they should build up their structure were educational, economic, social and political uplift. Educationally the condition of the Mussalmans today was hopelessly bad. Economically they were worse. No nation, he said, could ever successfully struggle while they were being economically dominated by another nation. Even a free nation would be handicapped if she was economically weak. Social uplift was an important pillar and when the Muslims had built up those three pillars they would be strong enough to put up the political pillar without difficulty. Some might say that it was a very slow progress, but he would tell them that nothing could be achieved without doing anything. Hard work and industry were essential, and it would do good not only to the individual but to the community at large. No nation had ever achieved anything without a struggle.

"If you want to accelerate your progress then build up these pillars," Mr. Jinnah said, He was glad that Muslims were realising the importance of the programme, and he was sure that before long they would catch up with their sister communities.

After explaining the various committees that had been set up at the recent annual session of the League to carry on the constructive programme of the League, Mr. Jinnah referred to the political situation in India. There was nothing new in the

horizon. Varied slogans against the demand for Pakistan had been raised. Fallacious propaganda and objections were put against the Muslim demand. And now recently, Mr. Jinnah continued, the Muslims were accused of being an ally of British imperialism and obstructing the freedom of this country. Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah asserted, ensured freedom for both the Hindus and Muslims. He condemned the propaganda carried on against him personally and against the League, and referred to suggestions made by some Hindu leaders that he (Mr. Jinnah) should be made the First Premier of India, and that he should select his own Cabinet, and said that the offer was a camouflage. "This is made in order to mislead and confuse the Muslims," he said.

The Muslim demand for Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah continued, meant nothing more than that each community should manage their own homelands. The Hindus, he said, should understand the demand easily, because, amongst them, when they disagree they resorted to the partition of the property of a joint family. They were opposed to him, because he was opposed to the principle that the whole of India belonged to the Hindus, and that they should rule over it. Mr. Jinnah did not think that the Hindus would succeed in their attempt and, as for the Muslims, they would not rest content till they had their partition. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, February 3, 1944.

635

Telegram to Mr. Churchill regarding Palestine situation, New Delhi, February 17, 1944

"America-Zionist propaganda supported by influential quarters causes alarm and serious apprehension. Any departure

from White Paper and definite assurances given to Muslim India by Lord Linlithgow, Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government would be further act of flagrant injustice to Arabs and breach of faith. Not only Muslim India but entire Muslim World would deeply resent it. Consequences fraught with gravest danger". (F.O.S.C.)

The Dawn, February 18, 1944.

636

Speech in reply to an Address Presented by the All-India Railway Muslim Employees' Association, Delhi, February 27, 1944.

"An advice to Muslims to go on hammering the Government till they come to sense was given by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President, All-India Muslim League, this evening at the Arabic College Hall replying to a welcome address presented by the All-India Railway Muslim Employees' Association. If the Government do not come to their senses, he added, they are going to destroy themselves.

"The kind of Government that exists today is not a Government. These are departments. The Muslim nation's grievances can be solved only through the establishment of Pakistan," said Mr. Jinnah.

"The Association presented a purse of Rs. 1,001 to Mr. Jinnah authorising him to spend it in whatever way he liked.

Mr. Jinnah continuing said: "After all these years you have found me out now, and I have found you out. This reminds me of a story of a poor man in the streets of London. He had no house, no food, and no warm cloths. Thinking that it was of no use to live in this world he decided to commit suicide. He threw

himself into a river. Just as he jumped, some noble Lord heard the voice. He also jumped into the river, rescued him, and brought him out half-dead. The Lord warmed him and gave him some nourishment. Next day he was all right. The Lord gave that poor man warm cloths, food, and some money and asked him to go. The man refused to go. He accused the Lord of saving his life. 'Why did you save me, he added. I never wanted to live in this world. And now you have saved me, you must keep me in your house and feed me'".

"This story," Mr. Jinnah said, "has some bearing on our present lot. From every department of the Government there is the same cry of injustice done to Muslims. Fortunately, I came to the rescue of the Mussalmans and prevented them from committing suicide. Now you are saved and have got warm clothings and food. I say to you, 'Go and look after yourself.' I want you to understand that I have no power, no authority, nor any means to help you. When I say this, I am told 'You are the uncrowned king of Muslim India. You can do everything.'

"But I assure you," Mr. Jinnah said, "when I would possess power, it would be my duty to do everything for you and I will do that.

"At present, we are doing our best to help you. We are attacking the Government in the Assembly and the Council of State. Myself as leader and Nawabzada Liaquat Al Khan as deputy leader of the Muslim League Party in the Assembly, Syed Hossain Imam as Leader of the League Party in the Upper House, and all of your M.L.As are leaving no stone unturned to see that no injustice is done to the Mussalmans. But, let us go on hammering the Government for our rights. If they do not come to their senses, they are going to destroy themselves."

Memorandum's Fate

Mr. Jinnah also related the fate of the Memorandum

sent by the Muslim League Party to the Government. He said, "The Treasury Benches are no good. We thought the Viceroy might be good. We drafted a memorandum and sent it to the then Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow. The Government examined it. Our memorandum, through the channels of redtapism, went in files from one department to the other. The reply to the memorandum was sent to us after seven months. We also examined it and found it far from satisfactory. The position of the present Government is thoroughly dishonest. The kind of Government that exists today is not a Government. These are the departments.

"The only solution of the Muslim Nation's grievances is the establishment of Pakistan.

"Whatever progress you have made and are likely to make in future can only stand on sound and solid basis. Whatever name and position the Muslims have achieved is because of solid and united backing of Muslim India behind the Muslims League."

Welcome Address

In the welcome address the attention of Mr. Jinnah was drawn to the failure of nationalisation of railways in India. "To our misfortune," the address stated, "the nationalisation of railways in India has left the 'Haves' and the 'Have-nots' in their respective positions, and it looks as if the present situation for Muslims will last for ever." It was also complained that the Association of the Muslim employees, although registered under the Trade Union Act, is not recognised by the Government. The Association also demanded one-third share in the administration of the national asset which is the Indian Railway.

It was also mentioned in the address that Muslim trade, Muslim commerce and industry was looking up to Mr. Jinnah for guidance and inspiration. Even Muslim divines were getting

new life and light from the torch that the Quaid-e-Azam was holding aloft.

The Dawn, February 28, 1944

637

Interview to Mr. Stewart Emeny, Representative of 'News Chronicle' of London, New Delhi, February 29, 1944.

The following is the report sent by Mr. Stewart Emeny, the representative of News Chronicle, London, to his paper, regarding the interview he had with Mr. M. A.. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, a few days ago:

Mr. Jinnah, in an exclusive interview with me today completes the trilogy of authoritative opinion by spokesmen of the chief parties on the political and constitutional stalemate in India. Congress view came the other day from Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the only member of the Congress Working Committee at liberty, who says the Congress still stands by the tenets which let to the imprisonment of Mr. Gandhi and others, and that the first movement towards settlement must be for the Government to allow Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders to meet and afterwards to let them talk with Mr. Jinnah.

The Government attitude was expressed in the Legislative Assembly here by Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member, who refuses to release Mr. Gandhi and his fellows, because there is no evidence for a change of heart, because Congress is not prepared to consider any solution except on its own terms, and because the members of the Congress High Command will not give the guarantee to withdraw their opposition to war effort or cease their attempts to coerce the Government and negative Pakistan.

The Muslim League view now comes from Mr. Jinnah in the following questions and answers in an interview:

Q. Will you, Mr. Jinnah, sum up the present position as you see it?

Mr. Jinnah: "Well, the Government seems to be content with the present position, and so far as any action is concerned it appears to be completely paralysed. The Congress is outlawed and shows no change of heart.

Q. Why should the Government not open negotiations with Coiners or allow somebody like Mr. Rajagopalacharia, who agreed in principle to your demand for Pakistan, separate Muslim and Hindu States, to go and try, and to persuade Mr. Gandhi to change their attitude?

Mr. Jinnah: That means that, unless Mr. Gandhi is persuaded, the Government won't meet our just demand for Pakistan. We cannot accept this position. So far as the Government is concerned, I don't know what their policy is in this matter, but if Government were to follow your suggestion it would be an admission that Congress has won, and that Government cannot get on without Congress.

Q. Well, what should be done?

Mr. Jinnah: If the British Government is sincere in its desire for peace in India it should now frame a new constitution dividing India into two sovereign nations – Pakistan for Muslims representing one-quarter of country, and Hindustan for Hindus, who would have three-quarters of all India.

Q. But, surely, it is not a desirable thing to weaken India and lay her open to future aggression by dividing her into two countries?

Mr. Jinnah: I don't agree that India would be any the safer under a forced unity. In fact, she might be more

vulnerable., because Hindus and Muslims will never be reconciled with each other. Any agreement between Muslims and Hindus to work together as a single unit even in a federation is an impossibility. Newfoundland has been promised complete independence. If the little Newfoundland can stand on its own feet in the same continent as Canada, then Pakistan with its population of 70 to 80 millions equal to twice the population of Great Britain is certainly stronger enough to march alone. Russia doses not think it a source of weakness to divide herself into 16 autonomous States. Britain has for years tried to establish India as a united nation and all its efforts have failed. Now Britain must reconcile herself to the idea of an India consisting of two nations.

Q. But you know that Congress and the Hindus would never accept that. If Government tries to implement such a plan Congress and Hindus would launch civil disobedience campaign, and there would be violence and possibly a civil war?

Mr. Jinnah: On the contrary, nothing like that would happen. If British Government announced its intention of setting up Pakistan and Hindustan, Congress and Hindus would accept it within three months. In other words Government would have called the Congress bluff. In fact, the Pakistan principle is working smoothly already in the five predominantly Muslim provinces where Hindus are holding cabinet office in the Muslim League Governments. Pakistan would be in the interests of every body. Certainly Hindus would have no grievance under it, beca ıse they would get three-fourths of India – a territory larger an population greater than any sovereign state with the exception of Soviet Russia and China.

Q. But surely there would be civil war. You would be creating an Indian Ulster which Hindus might one day attack in the name of united India.

Mr. Jinnah: I don't agree, but there would be under the new constitution transitional period for settlement and adjustment during which time British authority so far as armed forces and foreign affairs are concerned, would remain paramount. The length of the transitional period would depend on the speed with which the two peoples and Great Britain adjusted themselves to the new constitution. Finally, the two Indian nations would enter into treaties with Britain, just as Egypt did when she won her independence.

Q. What if Britain then refused to leave India on the ground that relations between Hindustan and Pakistan were not good enough to live as neighbours?

Mr. Jinnah: That might happen, but it is not likely. Even so we should enjoy a degree of autonomy which we do not possess today. As a separate nation and dominion, we should at least be in a better position to deal with and possibly to reach an agreement with the British Government which we are not able to do during the present deadlock.

Q. Do you believe that Britain is sincere when she says, she wants to give India freedom at the earliest possible opportunity.

Mr. Jinnah: I will believe Britain's sincerity when she divides India and gives both Muslims and Hindus freedom. As John Bright, said in 1858: "But how long does England propose to govern India? Does any man with the smallest glimmering of commonsense 'believe' that so great a country with its 20 different nations and its 20 languages can ever be 'bound' up and consolidated into one compact and enduring empire?

Q. Are you likely to see the Viceroy while you are in Delhi?

Mr. Jinnah: If the Viceroy asks me to see him I shall be

very pleased, but I do not know what more I can say other than what I have already said.

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Speech at a Lunch given by Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, Vice-Chancellor, Muslim University, Aligarh, March 8, 1944.

Responding to the toast, Mr. Jinnah who looked very happy in the midst of the members of the Muslim University referred to the rousing reception they had given him at the station which had almost crushed and suffocated him. Proceeding, he remarked that it was a fact that there were two parties – Congress and the British Government – when they started their organisational activities. But, thank God, through the efforts of their workers, including the Vice-Chancellor they had made every Mussalman conscious of his position and the seven years' struggle of the Muslim League had raised the Mussalmans to the position of a nation whose voice was heard not only in India, but all over the world. Pakistan, the Quaid-e-Azam remarked, was not the product of the conduct or misconduct of Hindus. It had always been there; only they were not conscious of it. Hindus and Muslims, though living in the same towns and villages, had never been blended into one nation; they were always two separate entities.

Tracing the history of the beginning of Islam in India, he proved that Pakistan started the moment the first non-Muslim was converted to Islam in India long before the Muslims established their rule. As soon as a Hindu embraced Islam he was outcast not only religiously but also socially, culturally and

economically. As for the Muslim, it was a duty imposed on him by Islam not to merge his identity and individuality in any alien society. Throughout the ages Hindus had remained Hindus and Muslims had remained Muslims, and they had not merged their entities – that was the basis for Pakistan. In a gathering of high European and American officials he was asked as to who was the author of Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah's reply was 'Every Mussalman.'

Now the question is how to get Pakistan? Raising his eye-brows and speaking in grim tones, Mr. Jinnah said, "not by asking, not by begging, not even by mere prayers but by working with trust in God. *Inshallah*! Pakistan is now in your hands."

The Dawn, March 10, 1944.

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Speech at a meeting of the Aligarh Muslim University Union, Aligarh, March 9, 1944.

"Mr. Jinnah said that he had as usual come to give them a resume of the happenings since his last visit. Giving a rapid survey of the developments since April 1936 when the Mussalmans really started their present struggle, he said that during the first three years there were no tangible results to show. Some people treated us with indifference, some laughed at us, and some actively opposed us, but we kept on struggling against all odds and handicaps. But now, he could say without exaggeration that they had reached a stage through patience, perseverance, determination and sustained effort on which they could congratulate themselves. In all greater movements a good deal of spade-work had to be done. You cannot remould and remake millions of people in a day, a week, a month, or even a year.

Our Claim

"We claim that the Muslim League is the authoritative and representative organisation of Muslim India. This claim imposed on them a sacred obligation to make the Muslims of India as great a nation in the future as they were in the past.

"What was our condition seven years ago? Hundred million souls were for all practical purposes dead. In fact, Mr. Gandhi and Lord Linlithgow were preparing to perform the funeral of the Muslims of India, but, thank God, we are saved. We now have a platform and a goal of our own. I said some time ago in this very Hall that we had already forged our own Charter of Pakistan, and we did not need any other Charter. We do not want any lessons in geography or in history. The Muslim League has secured for the Muslims a status not only in this country but even abroad. Five years ago did any body talk about us or did anybody care to know who we were and what we wanted? But a great change had come about during the last few years. There is now not a day when every newspaper, friendly or unfriendly, does not talk about the Muslim League; if they were not friendly to us they abused us; and people do not abuse anybody, if he is nobody. "Flattering references are often made to me", Mr. Jinnah remarked, "that the key to the situation lies in my hands, and that I can resolve the deadlock. Indeed, our friends went so far as to offer me the crown of the Premier of this great United India."

"It is all very complimentary, but we stand by our convictions, and neither flattery nor coercion can divert us from our determined purpose. The League today occupies a powerful position in the life of this country. You must now concentrate more attention on social, educational and economic uplift of our great nation.

"Now that we have attained unity of thought and purpose we must take the next step forward. At Karachi we took

certain important decisions, but you must have patience. You cannot have tangible results all at once. It will require all the patience, energy, discipline and solid work that we can put forth.

Committee of Action

We now have a Committee of Action whose function it would be to further and better organise the Muslim League, all over India. The Muslim League in recent years had grown so enormously that it is now beyond the capacity of any single man to control this vast orgnaisation. The Committee's business is to tone up and galvanise the Muslim League Organisation in every district and every city. It will harmonise, coordinate, and concentrate the work of all your branches, so that you may be better able to undertake any programme that may be placed before you. It is easy to frame a programme but we must have the men and the machinery to carry out the decisions that we take.

Secondly, we have a Parliamentary Board. Bye-elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures are often taking place. Therefore, elections may come any moment. They have to be controlled and regulated properly. You cannot be ready at the last moment. From now on we must prepare and equip ourselves to fight the elections in an efficient and organised manner.

The third thing is the Planning Committee, whose personnel I have not yet been able to announce. People have very vague ideas about it, but it is difficult to find suitable and qualified men for this Committee. It is no use having merely politicians or lawyers on this Committee. We cannot, however wait too long. It will be too late. What we want from the Planning Committee is that it should make us ready before the occasion arises to make the fullest use of the potentialities of Pakistan areas.

Here we must look to the example of the Hindu community. They were always prepared in advance to utilise any opportunity that may come their way. For instance, what have we done in commerce? Commerce does not merely mean that business of a shopkeeper or the exporter or importer. It means heavy industries and the scientific means of trade and industry. If you look at the list of Joint Stock Companies, you will find that the Mussalman is nowhere. When this war broke out the Hindus were ready and prepared to utilise all the opportunities of expanding trade and commerce that the war created; the Mussalmans being unprepared were again left behind. It was no use complaining when we lost the chances due to our own negligence. We have merely been producing B.A.'s and M. A.'s., who look for a Government job carrying a salary of Rs. 50 or Rs. 60. Temperamentally the Mussalman spends more than he earns. This is a very unsatisfactory state of affairs.

I say to you and to all our leaders that we must now take immediate steps to train our youth in a manner that they may be diverted to other useful channels, where they have better prospects; but the channels will also have to be created, All Hindu commercial concerns are closed to Muslims; no Hindu firm would employ any Muslim. Therefore, you must have your own commerce and your own industry in which you will be able to give employment not only to thousands of workers and labourers, but also to the educated youth, who will have infinitely better prospects and will be in a position to do better work in these lines than Government service.

Planning Comittee

It is not that we have become entirely bankrupt as yet, but we have sadly neglected the commercial aspect of our national life, and we must make immediate efforts to remove the deficiency. The Planning Committee will make a scientific study and survey of Pakistan areas to find out what natural and

mineral wealth the Pakistan areas contain and what is the scope for various industries in these areas. Many resources are already there, but we want really qualified men, technicians, scientists and commercial experts, who can help to build up the economic and industrial life of Pakistan zones. I have been searching for such men for the last two months, and, God willing, I may be able to announce the personnel of the Committee in the near future.

Political situation

Now with regard to the political situation the position is that the Congress stands as it stands and as it stood. The same is the case with the Mahasabha and the British Government, and the deadlock or the stalemate or whatever you may like to call it continues. What can we do or what are we expected to do? An important recent event in this connection is the Viceroy's speech before the Central Legislature. Why did the Viceroy bring in the slogan of geographical unity of India in his speech?

"The address of His Excellency the Viceroy was provocative and thoughtless of the Muslim position, as he was anxious to throw a bait to the Congress and to Mr. Gandhi to secure their good behaviour during his period. No doubt, Lord Wavell like his predecessor has started fishing in the Congress waters. Lord Linlithgow hopelessly failed, but the soldier Viceroy thinks that he would succeed where his predecessor had failed in landing a big fish or a number of small ones sufficient for the purpose; but I read signs that many Hindu leaders and Hindu Press have been through his soothing reference to geographical unity. His conception of unity from the point of view of defence and internal and external economic problems can only be interpreted as clear indication how best to maintain and continue the British occupation and its imperialistic strangle-hold over India. Of course, he has disregarded the demands of the Muslim India – nay, he has gone out of his way

to placate the Pundits of Akhand Hindustan, and has shown ingratitude, and has taken undue advantage of the present policy of the Muslim League of non-embarrassment. This has created deep resentment throughout Muslim India."

Dangerous Game

Mr. Jinnah continuing remarked: "The futile bait to the Congress would lead India nowhere, and it is my firm opinion it is dangerous game to play, and might lead to very serious consequences. The surest way to win the war which the Viceroy considers his first job is to concede the Pakistan demand which means freedom both for Hindus and Muslims and thus prove their sincerity and *bona fides* that they want to transfer real self-government to the people of this vast subcontinent, instead of throwing feelers to Mr. Gandhi and the Congress to guarantee their good behaviour and agree to the political issue being indefinitely shelved or put in cold storage. Division of India is inevitable. Blending two nations – Hindus and Mussalmans – is an impossibility, and Pakistan is a certainty. It is futile and unwise now to obstruct or delay its establishment."

In the course of his speech Lord Wavell had also remarked that he had no wish that Congress should appear in sackcloth and ashes, and there were other expressions in his speech here and there which indicated a gesture to placate the Congress. The Viceroy thinks that Mr. Gandhi may find in these expressions the germs of an honourable settlement and gentlemen's agreement.

All this is meant for Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues, but let me tell Lord Wavell that he is living, shall I say, in a paradise of his own. He should know that this game has been played out. The Muslim League is now strong enough and will see that no machination succeeds. If there is again any Gentlemen's Agreement it will not last for even a fortnight.

Another Share

Another party which has become very active of late is the Communist party. Their propaganda is insidious, and I warn you not to fall into their clutches. Their propaganda is a snare and a trap. What is it that you want? All this talk of socialism, communism, national-socialism and every other *ism* is out of place. Do you think you can do anything just now? How and when can you decide as to what form of government you are going to have in Pakistan. We are told by one party or another that we must have a democratic or a socialistic or a "nationalistic" form of government in Pakistan. These questions are raised to hoodwink you. At present you should just stand by Pakistan. It means that first of all you have to take possession of a territory. Pakistan cannot exist in the air. When you have once taken possession of your homelands the question will then arise as to what form of government you are going to establish. Therefore, do not allow your mind to be diverted by these extraneous ideas.

Let us concentrate all our attention on the question of taking possession of our homelands. The most important party on account of their power and authority at present are the British, and unless they undergo real change the settlement of the Indian problem will be delayed.

"Coming of Age"

I find a change coming over the British politicians during the last six months. Many Englishmen and Hindus have shown signs of realising that the only effective solution of the problem is to divide India into Hindustan and Pakistan. The British conception of geographical unity of India is that British occupation and hold over India should continue indefinitely. The Hindu idea of Akhand Hindustan or United India is that there should be Hindu Imperialistic rule, not even democratic rule, because there is no democracy in Hindu society. It is really a

misfortune. I honestly believe that ours is the most honest, the most feasible, and the best solution of the Indian problem, namely, to divide India into Pakistan and Hindustan. The truth is dawning more and more clearly on the minds of Hindus. It is a genuine swing round. As we go further, I am confident that they will realise that Pakistan is really more beneficial to the Hindus than to us.

Cornering John Bull

As for the British, they never give anything except under stress. It is very difficult to corner John Bull. If India had an overwhelming majority of Mussalmans there would have been no difficulty in cornering John Bull. But the trouble is that if I go to grapple with John Bull the Hindus come to his rescue, and when the Hindus go to corner him to force their demands which are detrimental to us we cannot join them. If the Hindu demand is accepted it means freedom for the Hindus but enslavement for the Mussalmans. If my demand is accepted it means freedom for both.

Unfortunately the Hindus have been obsessed with the idea of establishing united Central Government over the whole of India which they should know is an impossibility. This obsession is now slowly going and let us hope that it will be knocked out of their mind altogether.

Muslim Ministries

In the five Muslim majority provinces we now have Muslim League Ministries which are a kind of laboratory for us. The general elections were held as far back as 1936. Many of the members of the legislatures were not originally elected on the Muslim League ticket, but as the Muslim League grew in strength the Muslim members of these legislatures gradually came into the fold of the League, and these Muslim League Ministries are now dependent on the support of the Muslim

League parties in the Legislatures. They are under the control of the Muslim League organisation. Whatever might have happened in the past, the Muslim Ministers are now realising that they should work for the good of the Mussalmans and the good of the provinces. We have no intention to do any injustice to the minorities in the Muslim majority provinces, but we also want to see that no injustice is done to Mussalmans.

Even with the limited amount of power that the existing constitution confers the Ministries can do a great deal. They can do it inside the legislature and also outside by giving legitimate help honestly and fairly to the Muslim League in improving the conditions of Mussalmans if they do so earnestly and efficiently.

The foundations for Pakistan will be laid if the Mussalmans in Pakistan areas are properly organised. The verdict will lie in their hands to say whether there will be union or no union. The destiny of not only 70 million Muslims in Pakistan, but also 30 million elsewhere lies in your hands.

A number of Americans have asked me about the representative character of the Muslim League. I told them what better proof do you want than that, while the constitution remains suspended in Hindu majority provinces, the Muslim League Ministries are working in the Muslim majority provinces. The constitution was working without any serious defect or hitch. The Hindu majorities are already settling down, and will settle down still further, to work in peace and co-operation with the Muslims in Pakistan areas.

Tyranny in Gwalior

Turning to the situation in India States, Mr. Jinnah said that after Kashmir of late the Mussalmans had been subjected to ill-treatment and tyranny in Gwalior. They were watching the situation with great anxiety. The Maharaja and his administration cannot alone be held responsible for the injustice

perpetrated on the Mussalmans, but the Paramount Power also shares the responsibility. If there was any serious trouble in Gwalior it is only with the help of the Paramount Power that the Gwalior administration can perpetuate this tyranny.

It is, therefore, the duty of the Paramount Power to see that the Gwalior administration gives fair and jut treatment to the Mussalmans. I have great sympathy for the men working in Gwalior. They have no designs, and I am convinced they only want fair and just treatment for the Mussalmans like any subject in Gwalior.

Jewish Problem

We are faced with another serious issue at the moment, namely, the Jewish problem in Palestine. If President Roosevelt, under the pressure of the powerful World Jewry, commits the blunder of forcing the British Government to do injustice to the Arabs in Palestine it will set the whole Muslim World ablaze from one end to another. Grave wrongs had already been done to the Arabs. If the Jewish immigration is allowed to continue I have no doubt that not only the Muslim League will revolt, but the whole Muslim world will revolt. In this connection Mr. Jinnah recalled that, upon the outbreak of the present war, one of the demands that he had put forward was about the safeguarding of the interests of the Arabs in Palestine. The then Viceroy, Lord Linligthgow, on behalf of His Majesty's Government had given a solemn assurance to the Muslim community that the British Government would hold on to the White Paper and the pledge given to the Arabs.

If there is now any departure from the declared policy it would be the last straw on the camel's back. I still hope that the U.S.A. will revise their attitude towards Palestine.

Concluding, Mr. Jinnah quoted a chapter from a book on Arabia before Islam by a German writer, Joseph Hell. The

Arabs, he said, suffered from two serious defects. Firstly, they lacked the consciousness of national unity. They were conscious only of tribes and families. Secondly, they lacked a sense of subordination. These strictures applied to the Mussalmans in India also. The Holy Prophet made a great and powerful nation out of a primitive people. We have great traditions of culture and civilisation behind us, and we have the making of a great nation in us. We can, and Insha Allah we will, make our nation great, and when we have done it Pakistan will be at our feet.

The Dawn, March 11, 1944 &
QAP- File-1020/pp.97-106.

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Speech at the Meeting of the Muslim University Muslim League, Aligarh, March 10, 1944.

"Mr. Jinnah said, "I deeply appreciate the work which you as a little *bachcha* of the great organisation of the All India Muslim League have done. I know that you have been working against odds – unsympathetic treatment, fear, indifference, and so on. We have to face these handicaps on a large scale and you on a smaller scale. But let me tell you the days are gone when anyone could suppress it. As you go on with your efforts you will find less and less of opposition. With your determination and persistent effort you will succeed.

"No honest man can say that we want to do harm or injustice to anyone. Ours is a just cause and a just position. We want to live as free and hnourable men in this country and to govern the territory which is ours. We are getting nearer and nearer to our goal. The first thing is to achieve our goal, to establish our independent government in our homelands. But

that is not all. After the government has been established we have to run and manage it successfully. It would be no light task. Thirdly, you have to retain your Government and see that no one takes it away from you. As the shrewd Hindu politician, Mr. Rajagopalachari, once said. It is easier to go to jails than to manage a Government. 'It is a difficult art to run the administration in such a way as to reconcile conflicting interests and secure peace and harmony. We have thus to make preparations to achieve our goal. You, young men, have to put your heads together and see how you can accomplish it.

Commerce and Industry

"You must divert attention now from mere clerkships. I have no objection to your becoming B.As. and M. A.s; a certain amount of general education and training is necessary. But mere degrees of B.A. and M. A. are of no use. Of course, there are handicaps. There are hardly any channels for you to go into. But while you are studying for B.A. and M. A., you should learn shorthand and typewriting which you can easily do. The market value of a B.A. or M. A. with knowledge of shorthand and typewriting is at least three times that of a mere B.A. or M. A. In Bombay we have started a Commercial School which imparts instruction in such subjects as Banking, Book-keeping, Typing, and Shorthand in addition to general education. So far all big business has been in the hands of Hindus or Europeans. But I have, of late, noticed a real desire among Muslim businessmen to enter the field of Commerce and industry on modern scientific lines. I have heard that a Muslim Company with a capital of half a crore is going to be formed one of whose objects would be to train young Muslims in the scientific and technical ways of commerce. Therefore, I want young men to think in that direction. Muslim businessmen also should think in this direction. Together you should make your preparation, and they should create channels for your employment.

"So far as the main political part of the problem is concerned, the Muslim League is there to carry on the struggle and watch your interests. The Muslim youth are getting together with a definite programme under the banner of the Muslim Students' Federation. There is another welcome development now. During the last one year in almost every province Muslim Chambers of Commerce have been established and recently an All-India Federation of all the Muslim Chambers has been formed. Muslim businessmen in the beginning were hesitant for fear of offending Hindu friends, but at last courage has come to them and they have organised themselves. This third Muslim body is now going to tackle the most vital problem, economic and commercial development. But you must not get impatient. You should take a lesson from the example of the spider to try and try again. There is lot of work for you to do. You can decide for yourself in which channel you can work without jeopardising your studies.

Liberate Women

Another very important matter which I wish to impress on you is that no nation can rise to the height of glory unless your women are side by side with you. We are victims of evil customs. It is a crime against humanity that our women are shut up within the four walls of the houses as prisoners. I do not mean that we should imitate the evils of Western life. But let us try to raise the status of our women according to our own Islamic ideas and standards. There is no sanction anywhere for the deplorable conditions in which our women have to live. You should take your woman along with you as comrades in every sphere of life, avoiding the corrupt practices of Western society. You cannot expect a woman who is herself ignorant to bring up your children properly. The woman has the power to bring up children on right lines. Let us not throw away this asset.

Concluding, Mr. Jinnah again thanked them. He wished

them all success, and assured them that the All-India Muslim League would watch them with affection.

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Reply to an address presented to him at Muslim Student's Reception, Aligarh, March 13, 1944

"Replying to the address, Mr. Jinnah said, "I am glad to find that I enjoy your confidence. You people are very critical, but I advise you to learn all the literature and collect information on current topics before accepting my views. Those, who do like this are million times better than those, who do not study and ponder over these subjects." Continuing Mr. Jinnah said, "It is time when the Federation should consider and examine the work done by it during the last six years and devote its energies to secure the well-being of Muslim students thus doing the spade work for the League."(F.O.C.)

The Dawn, March, 1944

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Speech at a Public Meeting held under the auspices of the City Muslim League, Aligarh, March 13, 1944.

Mr. Jinnah began by thanking the Mussalmans of Aligarh for the right royal reception they had accorded him and traced the last seven years' struggle of the League as it had progressed from strength to strength. The League's voice was heard not only all over India but throughout the world. It had become a living force due to the overwhelming support of the

Muslim masses whose welfare, declared Mr. Jinnah, was nearest and dearest to his heart. It was for the amelioration of the conditions of poor Muslims that he was really working. He wanted that they should have food, clothing, and other necessaries of life in sufficient quantities. He desired to see them well-educated, socially strong and economically stable, but he had no power to do all that he desired. He had no territory, and no authority. What little influence he wielded he had been using for the ultimate welfare of the poor. Mr. Jinnah declared that the League was no longer the monopoly of Nawabs, Rajas or even Jinnahs. He alone could represent the masses who really worked for them. Then he explained the usefulness of the Committees of Action and Planning and the functions of the Parliamentary Board of the All-India Muslim League. H also dwelt on the importance of Pakistan for the Mussalmans in those provinces where they were in a minority. How could Pakistan help the Mussalmans of C.P., U.P., Madras, Bombay and elsewhere? What could be the objective of the Mussalmans of these provinces? Safeguards could be the only thing. But what would be the use of these safeguards if there was no authoritative sanction to ensure their fulfillment. If they achieved for provinces where Muslims were in a majority the cherished goal of Pakistan, it would mean independence for seven crores of their brothers and enforcement of safeguards in the Muslim minority provinces, and this would guarantee a just and fair treatment to all minorities.

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Speech at a meeting of the students of Islamia College, Lahore, March 18, 1944

In his speech Mr. Jinnah advised the students that their

main object was to study and equip themselves with necessary education which would enable them to handle the various problems when they entered the practical world. He warned them against any slogans and catch-words, which he thought, did more harm than good.

The Dawn, March 20, 1944.

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Speech at the Annual Conference of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation, Lahore, March 18, 1944

"The claim that 99 per cent of the Muslims of India, whether they were members of the League or not, were behind the League was put forward by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, inaugurating the annual conference of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation at a specially-built *pandal* on the grounds of the Islamia College, Lahore.

Mr. Jinnah, in a 80-minute oration, which was frequently punctuated with cheers, reviewed the progress of the League during the last seven or eight years, and said that there was no shadow of doubt that the Muslim League was the only representative body of Muslims in India. As a result of the hard struggle, perseverance, and sustained efforts, in spite of all difficulties and opposition, the League had undoubtedly given a platform to Muslim India which was never known in the history of India before. It had given a flag under which 99 per cent of Muslims whether they were members of the League or not were behind the League. The League had given them a definite goal and taken them out of darkness and confusion and given them a clear-cut and crystallised goal of Pakistan which was now an article of faith with the Muslims, millions of whom were

prepared to fight with their lives for its achievement. It was no more a slogan – it was something which the Muslims had understood, and in it lay their defence, deliverance, and destiny which would once more ring to the world that there was a Muslim state which would revive the past glories of Islam. "We want to rule our homeland, and we shall rule," he declared.

Status Raised

Mr. Jinnah went on to say that the name of the League rang not only throughout this country but throughout the world. Before the year 1936 even their Muslim brethren in independent foreign countries had the utmost contempt for them, they used to say that the Muslims were obstructing the freedom of their own country, and the only thing that they knew was that Mr. Gandhi and the Congress represented the whole of India. But now that they had understood the Muslims of India due to the League they had not only respect and admiration for them, but they were also proud of them. In America, England and other foreign countries hardly a day passed when the League was not mentioned. During the last seven years the League had raised the status of the Muslims, but a lot had yet to be done, and it was a long, long way to Pakistan.

Plans for Future

Mr. Jinnah then referred to the appointment of the Committee of Action and the All-India Parliamentary Board and said that a third Committee which was about to be appointed was the most important of all, and that was the Planning Committee. He regretted that the condition of Muslim India in economic life today was most deplorable, and asked them to wake up and make up the loss. The Planning Committee, he pointed out, would apply its mind as a practical body, and examine what could be done immediately under the present conditions, and what prospects there were for them in the future for which they must be ready, so that they might not be left out.

He declared that this Committee would not produce schemes of 100,000 crores which would depend on the release of Mr. Gandhi and the establishment of a National Government. For this Committee, he added they wanted financiers, technicians, practical men, and commercial scientists. There was dearth of such men among Muslims, and that was one of the reasons why it had not yet been possible for him to announce the personnel of the Committee.

Mr. Jinnah stressed the need of creating new channels of employment for Muslims, and said it was high time that they diverted their educational policy as they wanted more and more commercial and technical schools. He, however, saw a bright future for the Muslim youths, and was glad to find that they were getting more thoughtful, and were realising their sense of responsibility.

The Dawn, March 20, 1944

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Speech at the Concluding Session of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation Conference, Lahore, March 19, 1944.

"Today we are experimenting in the laboratory of our Ministries, and it is up to us to see what we can get out of the laboratory. If this laboratory does not work, we shall have to find a better laboratory."

This warning was given by Mr. Jinnah with reference to the working of the Punjab Ministry in the course of his concluding remarks at the annual session of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation which concluded at 1 a.m.

If this party in the legislature, said Mr. Jinnah, would work honestly, sincerely, loyally and whole-heartedly, this party

and their Ministers could render the greatest possible services to the people of the province particularly the Muslims who were not getting a fair deal in the province. If these members took off their coats in the constituencies which had elected them there would be a revolution in the Punjab. "We should make them understand", stressed Mr. Jinnah, "that they should do it and must do it."

Sinister Move

Mr. Jinnah went on to say that if this party in the legislature the Provincial League and over its head the All-India Muslim League each moved in harmony and marched along, no power on earth could force upon them any constitution they did not want.

Mr. Jinnah then proceeded to criticise what he described a sinister move started by Jats in the Punjab that the Muslim Jats and the Hindu Jats were one and he warned those who were trying these methods. Mr. Jinnah declared amidst cheers that Islam did not recognise any kind of distinction of various classification of castes, and the Prophet was able to level down all castes and create a national unity among Arabs in Arabia. It was this foundation so firmly laid by him that took them across, and they were knocking at the gate of Spain. They wanted to destroy the curse of the caste system which had been the ruin of Muslim India. Let it be clear, he said, that the League is not going to allow anyone to create disruption by these methods among Muslims. Our bedrock and sheet-anchor is Islam. There is no question even of Shias and Sunnis. We are one and we must move as one nation and then alone we shall be able to retain Pakistan. He declared that the caste system was responsible for the slavery of India and warned those who were trying these sinister methods.

Communists Warned

Mr. Jinnah also warned the Communist Party to keep

their hands off the Muslims. They did not want any flag other than the League flag, and Islam was their guide and complete code for their life. They did not want any *isms*. Mr. Jinnah then examined the August Resolution of the Congress and said that it completely ignored the Muslim League and Muslim India. It gave an ultimatum to the British Government to give United India Federal Central Government and constituent assembly to frame a constitution which must be accepted by the British Government. If this demand were conceded, it meant not only that Pakistan would be dead but that the hundred million Muslims would be completely under the Raj of Hindu imperialists. How can we possibly sit and do nothing, Mr. Jinnah asked. The British, he went on, "is the white *bania* and the Hindu is the real *bania*. If they come to some settlement we may be let down. That is the position we are guarding against."

Geography Changeable

Criticising Lord Wavell's recent speech in response to a request from the audience Mr. Jinnah contended that geography had been altered in the case of Suez Canal, the Panama Canal, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Norway, Ulster in Eire and Sudan in Egypt. How do you justify, by a rule of geography, your being in this country, questioned Mr. Jinnah, and added it was only a soothing reference.

Mr. Jinnah said as the Muslims are beginning to know things more and more and as the Hindus knew things more and more this sort of pronouncements, be it from Lord Wavell, and Linlithgow, or Mr. Amery would cease to be made. The more we understand the quicker will be the settlement; and the only and the best solution of the Indian problem", he concluded, ' is that the British Government have to give freedom both for Pakistan and Hindustan." He therefore asked the Muslims to march on and march forward with will and determination. (A.P.)

The Dawn, March 21, 1944

Another version

"Hands off! Hands off!! Communists, Hands off!!! You must know that the Mussalman is not the same as he was 5 or 7, or 10 years ago when you could, and did succeed in fooling him. If you try this game on him now, it will hit back like a boomerang."

In these words Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah gave a "boot" to all the flattery which the Indian communists had indulged in with a view to "bringing round" the League "Mufti-i-Azam," while speaking at the concluding session of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation Conference tonight.

He spoke for 55 minutes and concluded his speech at 1 a.m.

"The Communists," he said, "think we are fools. There is some justification in their thinking like that. But they are mistaken now because the Mussalman of the last 5 or 7 or 10 years has changed and the Communists will not now succeed in fooling us. Hands off! Hands off!! I say Communists Hands off!!! If you try the same game, it will hit back like a boomerang. We do not want any flag excepting the League flag of Crescent and Star. Islam is our guide and a complete code for our life. We don't want any red or yellow flag. We don't want any isms, socialism, communism or national socialism." All this was received with loud cheers from the Muslim students.

League Party in Punjab Assembly

Referring to the "complaints he had heard and received about the Ministry;" Mr. Jinnah recalled the days when, in spite of his efforts and having come to Lahore four times in 1936, he succeeded in getting only two members returned on the Muslim League ticket to the Provincial Assembly. Today he claimed that 90 to 95 per cent Muslims members of the Punjab Assembly had signed the Muslim League pledge and formed a Muslim League

Party which was under the control and discipline of the All-India Muslim League. The Ministries, said Mr. Jinnah, were their laboratories and they were experimenting with them. If their laboratory in the Punjab did not work well, said Mr. Jinnah, "we shall have to find another laboratory" The Ministers, the League Parliamentary Parties, the Provincial League and the All-India League were referred to by Mr. Jinnah as 'parts' and if they moved in harmony, there was no power on earth which could force upon them any constitution which they did not want. Muslim League, he said, was certainly at their service and they in the League would be prepared to give up their lives, if necessary, for opposing any constitution being foisted upon them which they would not accept.

The Muslim League Party in the Punjab Assembly, he said, could render service not only to the Punjab but to the whole of India also, because it was in their power to pass measures, by which they could render service to the Mussalmans who were not getting a fair deal even in the Punjab. Their conscience must demand of them, said Mr. Jinnah, (referring to the Leader of the League Party in the Assembly) to do their duty as men of their word which they had given and to which they were pledged.

They could render service to the League and if they were to take off their coats, the organisation of the League could be revolutionised in the Punjab.

Replying to the question whether they would do it, Mr. Jinnah said: "They ought to do it. Make them understand that they should do it. They must do it."

Sinister Move

Mr. Jinnah described the movement in the Punjab to organise the Jats and Rajputs separately in different organisations as a "sinister move" and said: "We do not recognise

any kind of distinction or any classification of castes or tribes. The Muslims League is not going to tolerate or allow anyone to create disruption among the Mussalmans by asking them to organise themselves separately into castes or tribes. We recognise no one as a Jat or a Pathan or even as a Shia or a Sunni. We can't tolerate any such caste being created and encouraged because it will not be possible to retain Pakistan if those distinctions were allowed. These castes are responsible for the slavery of India."

Mr. Jinnah added: "It is extraordinary that in the Punjab this movement should be started by a Jat who claims that Hindu Jats and Muslim Jats were one. I warn those who are trying these sinister methods. Let them know these won't do."

With regard to the constitution of Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah, while asking his followers among the Mussalmans not to be misled, maintained that they must acquire the territory first before they could frame any constitution for that territory. Quoting the example of Afghanistan. Mr. Jinnah said that as Nadir Khan came after Amanullah and he ended the reign of Bachha Saqa, he got possession of the land and then asked the *Millat* (people) to elect representatives to what was called the constitution making body, which sat to frame the constitution of Afghanistan. Mr. Jinnah said that the form of Government in Pakistan and its constitution could only be decided upon by a constitution making body appointed by the people – and he called it a constituent Assembly – that body being a sovereign body to frame the constitution.

August Resolution of Congress

Regarding the August resolution of the Congress, the League leader after explaining the resolution briefly said that the resolution completely ignored the Mussalmans and the League which was bypassed by the Congress. If the Congress

had succeeded or the British Government had conceded their demand, said Mr. Jinnah. "Not only Pakistan would have been dead, but the 100 million of Mussalmans of India would have been finished and they would have been under the Raj of Hindu Imperialists and Akhand Hindustan would have been established."

The Mussalmans therefore could not sit quietly and do nothing. The danger was there. The British did not want to part with power and the Hindus did not want them to go because they thought the Muslims were not sufficiently crushed.

Mr. Jinnah added. "We thought that the British who is a white Bania, may come to have a compromise with the Hindu Bania and if the two came to an agreement we will be let down. It was against this that we wanted to guard."

Alluding to Lord Wavell's speech, the League leader, while pointing out that there had been geographical changes, asked what about the Suez and Panama canals. Spain and Portugal, Sweden and Norway; Ulster and Eire, Sudan and Egypt; and then added: But tell us by what rule of geography are you in this country."

Mr. Jinnah felt relieved and happy to say that the Hindu leaders and the Hindus press had seen through the game which Lord Wavell had tried to play.

He knew that such speeches were feelers and they meant much. But the British Government, he said, was making a great mistake and as the Muslim and Hindus began to understand more and more that sort of game by Lord Wavell or Amery it would cease to be played and if the Hindus and Muslims could understand still more, their own settlement would be quicker.

The solution of the problem was that if the British Government wanted to give freedom, let it be to Pakistan and

Hindustan. (F.O.S.C.)

The Eastern Times, March 21, 1944.

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Speech at a Conference of Muslim Members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, Lahore, March 20, 1944.

"The declaration that neither he nor the League was a party to what is known as the Jinnah-Sikandar Pact, and that the Unionist Party was dead, was made by Mr. Jinnah at a three-hour conference held by him with Muslim members of the Punjab Assembly, including half a dozen who sit on the Opposition benches.

It is understood that Mr. Jinnah explained that the name Jinnah-Sikandar Pact was a misnomer. Sir Sikandar, he said, drew up that document himself, and wanted to give it the fullest publicity, so that the whole world might know that the Punjab with its full force was behind the Muslim League. How could he (Mr. Jinnah) object to the propaganda that Sir Sikandar wanted to carry on in favour of the League.

Mr. Jinnah recalled that, on his return to the Punjab after attending the Lucknow Session of the League in 1937, Sir Sikandar sent Mr. Jinnah over 70 forms duly filled in by Muslim members of the Punjab Assembly expressing their agreement to become members of the Muslim League. From the day these members signed the League pledge, Mr. Jinnah maintained, they ceased to be members of the Unionist Party. Since 1937, he declared, the Unionist Party had not been functioning at all. Its creed and policy were dead, and even Sir Chhotu Ram, who originally belonged to the Unionist Party, had formed a separate group with 13 followers. The Unionist Party, therefore, was

dead, and the Muslim League Party had entered into coalition with other groups. Malik Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana, Premier of the Punjab, is reported to have indicated at the meeting that Sir Sikandar had undertaken certain commitments and, as an honest man, he (Premier) was bound by those commitments.

Mr. Jinnah, in reply, emphasised that by entering into a coalition with Sir Chhotu Ram's group and others Sir Sikandar did not undertake any commitments which were binding on his successor or the Muslim League. There was no undertaking by Sir Sikandar of a permanent or everlasting nature, and the League Party was at liberty to continue the coalition so long as it was desirable to do so.

Mr. Jinnah further emphasised that, if there was anybody who stood by honour, he would always command his admiration and respect, and he commended honesty with all his heart.

But honesty on one side while the other side was undermining them could not be tolerated. Was it, he asked, honest for the other side to exploit the League because the name of the Unionist Party was adopted, and are we bound to continue coalition with a group which is not fair in its dealings with us?

Mr. Jinnah insisted on Muslim members setting their house in order. It was clear, he said, that the disease was there, and it must be uprooted. He could not understand why the name "Unionist" was sacrosanct and should not be dropped, if it was exploited by their opponents or enemies. Mr. Jinnah appealed to them to drop the false trade-mark, as the League Party was passed off as the original Unionist Party, simply because the name, Unionist Party, had been adopted by this coalition. Sardar Baldev Singh's groups was never in the original Unionist Party, and yet they were in the coalition.

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Released correspondence between Allama Mashriqi and Mr. Jinnah, Lahore, March 20, 1944.

Allama Mashriqi's letter to Mr. Jinnah, dated March 18, 1944.

"I have learned just this minute that you are in Lahore and attending some occasion.

"Events of the past some months have made you cause a breach between the Khaksars and the Muslim League, and I have yet to know if I am to blame for that. My conviction is that Mussalmans and Hindus must come to an understanding at this critical moment, in order to gain Pakistan as well as independence for India; but you, in your fury, are losing these precious moments amidst despair and inaction.

"I am open to conviction, if you can convince me otherwise. You told Khaksars at Quetta that I should have written to you, or met you, if I thought you were mistaken. I have persistently written, and now write again. I shall be pleased to meet you if you come to Ichhra; but if my humble invitation does not suit you, I do not feel at all small if I come over to you. Please let me know per bearer, as I think we must come to an agreement."

Replying to the Khaksar leader, Mr. Jinnah wrote on Sunday:

I am in receipt of your letter of March 18 late last night, and I regret very much indeed to note that you have thought fit to accuse me for having caused the breach between the Khaksars and the Muslim League, and further you convey and insinuate that I am, to use your own expression 'in my fury' opposed to Hindu-Muslim understanding in any circumstances. There is no truth whatsoever in these allegations that you make

against me, and you should know that there is no justification for it. I have repeatedly made my position clear by my statements and speeches that have been broadcast in the Press.

"However, as you say you are open to conviction, may I draw your attention to the fact that now the All-India Muslim League has appointed a Committee of Action, in whom are vested all the powers of organising the Muslim League, and request you to get in touch with the Chairman, Nawab Mahomed Ismail Khan, whose address is, Mustafa Castle, Meerut, United Provinces, or the Convener, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, whose address is, 8-B, Hardinge Avenue, New Delhi, as they are free from the accusations and reflections that you have cast on me both in this letter under reply and by your previous writings and statements that you have issued to the Press heretofore; and I hope that in that atmosphere they may be able to convince you that the policy and the principles and the programme of the League are in the best interest of Muslim India. I am informed that the full Committee of Action is going to meet at Delhi on March 25.

"I am releasing this letter to the Press, as I notice that you have already published yours without waiting for my reply."

Not Against League

The following is the text of the Allama's reply to the letter of Mr. Jinnah:

"Your reply to my letter of (Saturday) night, received after much persuasion after 16 hours, settles that I am not to blame for not meeting you for an understanding between he Mussalmans and the Hindus, or even between the Mussalmans themselves. My assertion, therefore, that you made an attempt to cause the breach between the Khaksars and the Muslim League stands true. Please reconsider the position in which you have involved yourself by this refusal. I can assure you that the

Khaksar is not against the Muslim League in spite of everything that has happened.

"Your reference to the 'Committee of Action' as having been given powers to organise the Muslim League is most amusing, as this means that you consider the Muslim League to be a disorganised body so far. I assure you that the disorganisation is solely due to your inaction and despair; also, if I may add, to the expectant sentiments you arouse at the shows you make in public and the high words you give to them. I can respectfully assure you that the Muslim public is tired of all this.

"I have asked you to consider your decision not to meet me, and I confess here that I shall be one of your lieutenants if you show real action. As regards your 'Committee of Action', I shall certainly give my best attention to it if it shows any action.

"As a last word, I can only say that if you, as the Quaid-e-Azam of the Mussalmans of India, do not show any real action in the matter of Hindu-Muslim understanding, or in getting Pakistan for the Mussalmans, I shall be compelled to draw the conclusion that the Mussalmans of India must leave you alone and try their luck elsewhere."

AFM/KU/QA/Clip 13/p.87.

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Message on the Occasion of the Celebration of Pakistan Day, Lahore, March 22, 1944.

"This is the fourth year since we passed our Pakistan Resolution on March 23, 1940, and this golden day has been ever since observed every year by the Muslim Nation all over this subcontinent.

"I have no doubt that this year it will be observed as

enthusiastically and wholeheartedly as in the past. Every year that passes the Muslim League is going forward from strength to strength, and our organisation is tackling great questions and issues in every department of life — educationally, economically, socially and politically. We are nearer realisation of our goal of Pakistan and the achievement of our freedom than ever before.

"I am sure that I am speaking on your behalf when I say that Muslim India will not rest content until we have realised our goal. Our goal is clearly indicated in the famous Lahore Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, and it is the only solution of the political problem of India, and it is a proposal that will bring universal peace. It will make the two major nations in this country happier, and in that direction lies the achievement of freedom of both Hindus and Mussalmans.

"For us Pakistan means our defence, our deliverance, and our destiny. It is the only way which will ensure to us our freedom and the maintenance of our honour and glory of Islam. We have to mould our people into a well-organised and solid nation. The speed of the final victory depends upon the proportion of labour that we put forth, and it is within your grasp.

"During the last several years we have made a remarkable progress, and every year it is doubled and redoubled. We are not lacking in the great qualities and virtues in comparison with other nations. We have achieved a big step, and have created a vigorous consciousness of national unity. Let us go forward, full of hope for the coming year, with faith in our heart, unity in our camp, discipline in our ranks, and I am confident of our success, and we shall without doubt realise our goal of Pakistan."

The Dawn, March 23, 1944.

649

Speech in Reply to the Address Presented by the Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Lahore, March 24, 1944

"We do not wish to harm our sister communities. There is plenty of room in this mighty subcontinent for all of us. We are glad that they have gone ahead, and we want to catch them. I am sure that they will not grudge us but will give us a helping hand."

These observations were made by Mr. Jinnah, replying to an address by the Punjab Muslim Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Jinnah said that Muslim businessmen were themselves to blame for Government's indifference and step-motherly treatment towards them in the past. Nothing better could be expected by an unorganised people. He was, however, glad to find that commercial and industrial consciousness was now coming to them, and they had formed Chambers of Commerce in different provinces which were affiliated to the All-India Muslim Chamber of Commerce. He had no doubt that if they organised themselves efficiently, Government would not remain indifferent, and would change its step-motherly policy.

Mr. Jinnah emphasised that economic development and economic power was the most important of all the departments of life, and so far as the Mussalmans were concerned, there was a dire need that they must now make every possible effort to make up the leeway. He was glad to say that the reaction of non-Muslim commercial magnates in Bombay to his efforts to organise Muslim business men had been very encouraging, and some of them had even offered to help him in this matter.

Mr. Jinnah declared that the Mussalmans did not wish to harm their sister communities which had gone ahead and hoped that the latter in their turn would not grudge them but

give them a helping hand.

The Dawn, March 25, 1944.

650

Speech in reply to the Address presented by the Jinnah Educational Board, Lahore, March 25, 1944.

Viewing with a deep sense of gratitude women's voluntary offer, even of blood in League's cause, Mr. Jinnah, while replying to the Address of welcome by the Jinnah Educational Board, asserted that men could not give up their privilege of killing and be killed. He, however, assigned to them the power of the hand that rocks the cradle a hand that helps, inspires and nurses in troublous times. He advised them to study the condition of their poor sisters, share their miseries and hardships, disseminate education among them, and explain to them the message of All-India Muslim League. He exhorted the women to emulate the example of women in Europe-women, rolling in wealth who dedicated their lives for the amelioration of their poor sisters.

Referring to the anxiety of women for the Shariat Law, Jinnah opined that this centuries old legacy could be removed only by a certain amount of tact and patience, as old evils could not, in Jinnah's view, be eradicated all of a sudden.

Replying to question, concerning Palestine, he condemned in unequivocal terms the immigration of Jews in Palestine, which was in his view, contrary to the assurances, contained in White Paper. He affirmed that they would see that the Arab interests were not sacrified and their national demand was not denied to them.

Mentioning the hostile attitude of the Hindu Press and

its favourite theme of misrepresenting him with a view to discrediting him among the Hindus and the Muslims alike, he warned the Muslims to disbelieve in the fabrications of the Hindu press.

Mr. Jinnah opined that the communal harmony Movement, started in the Punjab, was another copy of the ill-reputed Mass Contact. Such moves, he added, were being bolstered up by the non-Muslim agencies to divert the attention of the Muslims from their goal.

(Earlier, Begum Fatima Sahiba, reviewed the achievements of the Jinnah College for girls in imparting a true Islamic education to the Muslim girls. She announced to constitute her property, worth one lakh, into a Waqf, to be used for the Muslims).

The Eastern Times, March 28, 1944.

651

Speech in reply to an Address Presented by the North-Western Railway Muslim Employees' Association, Lahore, March 26, 1944.

"Replying to the address, the League President asked the Muslim railway employees to stand together and strengthen his hands. Mr. Jinnah referred to the memorandum on Muslim representation in the Railway services submitted by the League Party to the Viceroy in 1941, and said that they had been constantly pressing their point of view and would continue to do so. He pointed out that the more they were organised, the better attention their voice would receive in the Assembly and from the Government.

The Dawn, March 29, 1944.

Another version

"I am only a missionary at present, trying to revive a fallen nation. Some time is required before moulding, welding and galvanising it into a well-organised nation."

These observations were made by Mr. Jinnah while replying to the Address, presented to him by the N.W.R. Muslim Employees Association. Mr. Jinnah frankly admitted that for four years after 1937, the Muslim League had not made a considerable progress. But by passing the Pakistan resolution, results have been more concrete and tangible. Muslim India, Mr. Jinnah claimed, stands high in prestige, self respect and self-reliance, and the All-India Muslim League was now firmly established and commanded the sympathies of 99 per cent of Mussalmans in India.

Mr. Jinnah was pleased to say that the Muslim youth today was put on a road, whereby they had systematically organised and prepared themselves for the struggle to be participated by them, after educational career. He announced it with pleasure that signs of awakening were visible in the commercial and the industrial life of the Mussalmans, who had organised the All-India Muslim Chamber of Commerce, with branches all over India affiliated to the Central Orgnaisation.

He mentioned, in this connection, the proposed planning Committee, whose personnel could not be announced so far owing to the dearth of suitable men, to work on it. He, however, expressed the hope that real scientists in Commerce, would soon be found out to be included in the Committee.

Referring to the social life of the Muslims, Mr. Jinnah said that beneficent activity was going on in every part of India in this sphere, although no accurate statistics could be given by him at this stage. Quaid-e-Azam laid special emphasis on the amelioration of the condition of workers and peasants, who

formed the backbone of the nation. He told how he had himself been a poor man in the beginning. He appealed to better the lot of the workers and peasants, to enable them to lead a life of honour and happiness. He did not doubt the grievances of the Railway employees and the genuineness in them. He assured the members of the Association: "We are constantly pressing the Government and will continue to do so. The Government has no soul; it has no body. It is a clerk-ridden Government and is honeycombed with the Hindus throughout India."

Concluding Mr. Jinnah remarked, "Thank God, Muslim League has given you light. Let us join together. You strengthen my hands I promised you that I will fight for you to the best of ability."

(Earlier, Mr. Abdul Hamid, Secretary of the Association, while reading out the Address, drew the attention of the Quaid-e-Azam to the pitiable condition of the Muslim employees in the N.W.R. A purse of Rs.1001 was also presented to Quaid-e-Azam).

The Eastern Times, March 28, 1944.

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Speech at a Meeting of the Students of the Islamia College for Women, Lahore, March 26, 1944

"Addressing the students of the Islamia College for Women, Mr. Jinnah said that he was really gratified to learn that the right type of education was being given to Muslim girls. He said that many impurities and un-Islamic things had crept into the Muslim society, and it was the task of Muslim educational institutions to educate their children on right lines with a view to enabling them to live the Islamic life.

He congratulated Nawab Muzaffar Khan,* who, in spite of old age, was doing pioneer work in the cause of Muslim education in the Punjab.

The Dawn, March 28, 1944.

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Speech at an At-Home given by Students of the Forman Christian College, Lahore, March 31, 1944

It was for the first time after the passage of the Pakistan resolution at Lahore in March 1940 that a Hindu young man unequivocally supported the Pakistan demand, when Mr. Dev Dutta, welcoming Mr. Jinnah to an "At-Home", given in the honour by the students of the Forman Christian College, declared that the youth, Hindus and Muslims alike would prefer to live in Pakistan, based on free democratic principles of Islam than to live in a State, dominated by Hindu capitalists or Muslim Nawabs and landlords, in the name of United India or Pakistan.

"Deadlock is the creation of the Congress. So its solution lies in the hands of Hindu leaders. If they say today, 'we want our freedom as well as your freedom,' the deadlock can be resolved in twenty-four hours." Thus did Mr. Jinnah absolve the Muslim League from the alleged responsibility of perpetuating the present political deadlock in India.

Mr. Jinnah reiterated, 'Pakistan does not merely

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* President, Anjuman-Himayat-e-Islam, Lahore.

postulate freedom for the Mussalmans. We want freedom both for the Mussalmans and the Hindus. There cannot be Pakistan without securing the freedom of Hindustan. Those Hindus, who are opposed to this ideal, particularly the Hindu press, must realise that Hindustan means the richest and the best part of this subcontinent with a population over 250 million and a territory equal to any sovereign State of Europe. Why don't you give me the desert land of Sind, only the wheat-growing land of Punjab and merely the fruit-growing land of N.W.F.P.? The Hindus will have three-fourths of India." Mr. Jinnah asserted that never since Chandragupta's reign did the Hindus hold their sway over so large a territory in India.

While agreeing with those who blame the British Government for not parting with power, Mr. Jinnah, however, said, "but we have to get this power, in spite of the British. They have consistently pursued a policy of United India Democratic India. But this conception of a United India does not mean, what I or a Hindu or a Parsee means by it. The British aim at some system of Government by means of which they may remain on the top. We know that this United India can never be free, although many young men are easily allured by the picture of a United India, having a national government of its own. It's an impossibility." Mr. Jinnah recalled how John Bright had remarked, as far back as in 1858, that India could never be free by pursuing this policy.

Continuing Mr. Jinnah said, "For the last forty years, the Congress has not presented to us any constitution guaranteeing the Mussalmans complete freedom and equality."

Coming to the Congress scheme of things, Mr. Jinnah said that the Congress wanted to convene a Constituent Assembly, to decide in favour of a federal system of Government, with a strong centre, for instituting a perennial majority rule of one society – a rule which, in Mr. Jinnah's view, could never

command the confidence of other nations. Mr. Jinnah added that the military, police and the civil service of such a government could never be trusted.

Quoting a recent speech of Mr. Rajagopalachari, Mr. Jinnah said that if the English would force the Hindus and the Muslims to live together, its results would be fatal.

Concluding, Mr. Jinnah exhorted the students to study and examine the Muslim demand dispassionately.

The Dawn, April 2, 1944

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Speech at a Public Meeting, Lahore, April 2, 1944

Addressing the meeting in Urdu Mr. Jinnah critised the standard of public in the Punjab, and said that while the Hindu and Sikh Ministers had declared that they were in the Ministry to safeguard the interests of their respective communities, the Muslim Ministers did not possess the courage to come forward and say that they represented the Mussalmans. During his fortnight's stay in Lahore he had found that the condition of Mussalmans was deplorable in every department, and they were not getting a fair deal. The only remedy for this state of affairs, he said, was to strengthen the Muslim League in every district in the Punjab, so that the true well-wishers of the Mussalmans should be returned to the Legislature in the next general elections. He appealed to the Mussalmans to become two-anna members of the League, and establish primary branches of the League all over the Province.

Mr. Jinnah repudiated the suggestion that the Muslim League was a body of Nawabs and landlords, and declared that it

was the people's party, every Mussalman having a right to become its member.

Dealing with the suggestion that he should not carry on any propaganda for Pakistan in the Punjab as the Punjab was with the League in all-India matters only, Mr. Jinnah said that the League was fighting for the establishment of Pakistan not in Bombay but in the Punjab which was the key-stone of the proposed Pakistan State. He hoped that the Hindus who did not accept their demand today would do so tomorrow, and was glad that their Sikh friends had already begun to appreciate the Muslim viewpoint, though they were not prepared to give expression to it publicly.

The Dawn, April 3, 1944

Another version

(Addressing a public meeting which continued inspite of drizzling, Mr. Jinnah administered a severe reproof to the Punjab Muslim Ministers for remaining absolutely mum, when their non-Muslim colleagues had taken up the cudgels against the Muslim League.

The tremendous ovation which Mr. Jinnah's clarion call received indicated that even the masses meant business and wanted their Ministers to break the ice, adopt a more courageous attitude and convince the public by words and deeds that they were really anxious to carry out the mandate of the All-India Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah's admonition was followed by a general demand on behalf of the audience calling upon one of the Muslim Ministers of the Province, who happened to be present on the dais, to address the meeting – a demand to which he latter was obliged to submit.*

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* Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan

The shouting of the slogan "Remove the Unionist label", by the representatives of the masses, when the meeting concluded, is sufficient testimony to the fact that Mr. Jinnah's stay in Lahore had caused a flutter in the Punjab politics, and the people subscribed fully to the wishes of their Quaid).

Referring to the prevalent notion that the Muslim League was dominated by Nawabs and aristocrats who had not a grain of sincerity in them, Mr. Jinnah asserted that League was essentially a democratic body and every Muslim could make his voice felt by swelling the membership of Muslim League. He exhorted the Muslims to transform it into an effective People's Organisation to champion the rights of workers, Kisans and other elements constituting the lower stratum of Muslim society.

Mr. Jinnah was fully confident that, in the presence of a strong and well-galvanised organisation, even the Ministers would not dare to ride rough shod over the just demands of the man in the street. He added "These Ministers are, truly speaking, your servants and you are their virtual masters. You have got the key to remove them from their ministerial *gaddi*, if they no longer remain alive to their responsibilities." The Quaid-e-Azam asked the people to exercise their right to vote with great caution at the time of the next general elections, so that only those persons may be returned to the Assemblies who have the good of the nation at heart.

Sharp Retort

Mr. Jinnah was pained to say that the Mussalmans in the Punjab were being deprived of their legitimate rights in almost all departments of the life and that was the state of affairs in a Province where they commanded a clear majority.. He added that the Non-Muslim Ministers openly declared to their co-religionists that their only justification for remaining in the Cabinet was that they wanted to serve their community to

the best of their ability and resources. He asked, "Where are the Muslim Ministers? It seems they have not got the courage to convince their brethren that they will strive their utmost for the amelioration of their condition and secure their position as a strong Nation."

The Quaid-e-Azam gave a sharp retort to those who were prepared to pay lip-homage to the Muslim League in All-India affairs, but advocated a policy of 'splendid isolation' for the A.I.M.L. in matters pertaining exclusively to the Punjab. The Punjab, being the corner-stone of Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah asserted, must be the chief participant in the struggle to achieve Pakistan. He pointed out in this connection the necessity of educating public opinion, although he did not favour forcing his views on any non-Muslim. He, however, added that a gradual change was coming over the Hindu intelligentsia and many of them had already realized that the Muslim demand alone could guarantee freedom both for the Hindus and the Muslims. Concluding, Mr. Jinnah said, "For God's sake, work honestly for the Muslim League and I assure you that Pakistan will be at your feet." (F.O.C.)

The Eastern Times, April 4, 1944.

655

Statement to the Press on the position of the Muslim League Party vis-a-vis the Unionist Party in the Punjab Legislative Assembly, Lahore April 4, 1944

"The question that has been brought to my notice is whether the members of the Muslim League Party in the Punjab Assembly owe their allegiance to the defunct Unionist Party's creed, policy, and programme and can remain in the

Muslim League Party. There cannot be any divided loyalty."

Thus said Mr. M. A. Jinnah in the course of a statement to the press prior to his departure for Delhi.

"Those members of the Muslim League Party," he added, "if they are under the impression that they are bound by the creed, policy and programme of the so-called Unionist Party, are wrong. You cannot owe allegiance to two political parties. There can be no divided loyalty so far as the Muslim is concerned."

He pointed out that owing to the unfortunate death of the father of Malik Khizr Hyat Khan, leader of the Muslim League Party in the Assembly, the discussions regarding this matter were interrupted, and his absence from Lahore has naturally delayed the matter.

"I want to make it quite clear," he emphasised "that there is no question of our being bound by any commitment to any one which stands in our way, nor are we under any obligation to any other party in the present coalition, which in any way constitutes any bar or precludes us from taking any decision or decisions we think proper, consistently with our creed, policy and programme."

Talks with Ministers

Mr. Jinnah referred to his talks with Sir Chhotu Ram, Revenue Minister and Sardar Baldev Singh, Development Minister.

Concluding, Mr. Jinnah said that he would take up the thread as soon as possible, in the first instance, with Malik Khizr Hayat Khan, leader of the Muslim League Party, before the end of this month when he hopes to return to Lahore.

The following is the full text of the statement: "I had been receiving various reports from some time now which conveyed to me that the Punjab Provincial Muslim League and

the Muslim League Assembly Party were not fully and efficiently organised and working systematically. This brought me to the Punjab. I have been here now for more than a fortnight, and I wanted to examine the situation personally. I have seen and met a large body of people and heard various views, and I find that the issue before us is how best to put real life in the Muslim League organisation in the Punjab.

"Among others one of the matters that engaged my attention was the Muslim League Party in the Legislature. The question that is brought to my notice is whether the members of the Muslim League Party, who owe their allegiance to the defunct Unionist Party's creed, policy and programme can remain in the Muslim League Assembly Party. There cannot be any divided loyalty.

"It is obvious and, what is more, it has been expressly decided by the All-India Muslim League long time ago now that a member of the Muslim League cannot remain in or join any other political party.

Unionist Creed

"The creed of the so-called Unionist Party is Dominion Status and a united Democratic Federal constitution for India as a whole. Its policy and programme are mainly in the interest of one class – the zamindars – whereas the Muslim League is the people's party and the custodian and Trustee of all interests and classes that constitute the Muslim nation. Hence, subject to such arrangement as may be arrived at for the purposes of coalition, its fundamental and basic principles are quite different from that of the Unionist. We cannot be tied down to the creed, policy and programme of the so-called Unionist Party.

"Having ascertained the facts I naturally discussed this matter with the leader of the Party, Malik Khizr Hyat Khan, and with a large body of members of the Muslim League Party in the

Assembly. The Muslim League Party is subject to the control and supervision of the Provincial and the All-India Muslim League and it is bound to comply with the final decisions of the All-India Muslim League. This question is entirely a matter of our internal affairs and does not affect any other party or group in the Assembly. Owing to the unfortunate death of the father of Malik Khizr Hayat Khan, leader of the Muslim League party in the Assembly the discussions regarding this matter were interrupted, and his absence from Lahore has naturally delayed the matter. I feel that it would be hardly right and proper that Malik Khizr Hyat Khan should be disturbed at this moment of his sad bereavement.

No Commitments

"I want to make it clear that there is no question of our being bound by any commitments to any one which stand in our way, nor are we under any obligation to any other party in the present coalition, which in any way constitutes any bar or precludes us from taking any decision or decisions we think proper, consistently with our creed, policy and programme. Those members of the Muslim League Party if they are under the impression that they are bound by the creed, policy, and programme of the so-called Unionist Party are wrong.

"You cannot owe allegiance to two political parties. There can be no divided loyalty, so far as the League is concerned.

"The so-called pact clearly lays down that we may continue the present coalition or enter into any other coalition before or after the election. The present coalition is merely at will and formed for specific purposes. The question of the label or the name of the party, namely, the Unionist Party, arises, because it is calculated to mislead the public, and has been in fact utilised, and it is openly claimed because of its label that the members of the Muslim League Party are Unionist first and

Muslim Leaguers next and are bound by the creed, policy and programme of the so-called Unionist party. It follows that if this position is accepted, the Muslim League Party in the Assembly is a mere creature of the Unionists' and further it is insisted that, if we take steps to clarify this matter and put our Muslim League Party in the Assembly on a clean basis, then Sir Chhotu Ram would have nothing to do with the Muslim League Party at all, and we are threatened that it must lead to the dissolution and break of the present coalition.

Talks with Sir Chhotu Ram

"I think that the honour and conscience of every member of the Muslim League Party demands that he must clearly declare that his allegiance and loyalty is either pledged to the one party or the other. We are, therefore, determined to put our house in order on sound, healthy and honourable basis. Although this is a matter of our internal concern, I thought it proper to consult Sir Chhotu Ram as representing his group as a member of the present coalition.

"I put our case before him, and we have had a free and frank discussion regarding this matter. So far, Sir Chhotu Ram is adamant, and insists and maintains that every member of the Muslim League Party in the Assembly owes his primary allegiance to the creed, policy, and programme of the so-called Unionist Party and is bound by it. This position taken up by him is utterly untenable, and it is now for us to consider what decision we should take in the matter.

"So far as Sardar Baldev Singh (Development Minister) and Sir Manoharlal (Finance Minister) are concerned, they never were Unionists and had have nothing whatever to do with the so-called Unionist Party. Although they are in the present coalition, they only recognise the Ministerial Party and not the so-called Unionist Party.

"Hence, having regard to the composition of the present coalition in which the Muslim League Party is by far the largest and majority party, it was suggested that the label, Unionist Party, which even now is not recognised by Sardar Baldev Singh and Sir Manoharlal, should be dropped, and the present coalition should be called the Muslim League Coalition Party which, in fact, is the true position, and this change of label cannot and does not affect the continuance of the present coalition, so long as the parties concerned desire to maintain it.

"Coalitions are formed for certain specific purpose only; and the respective parties to the coalition do not forswear their allegiance or give up the allegiance to the creed, policy and fundamental programme of their respective parties."

"I am thankful to Sardar Baldev Singh who was good enough to see me, and I had the opportunity of having a free and frank talk with him also. I have to leave for Delhi tonight, but the thread will be taken up by me as soon as possible, in the first instance, with Malik Khizr Hyat Khan, leader of the Muslim League Party. I hope to return to Lahore before the end of the month."

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Message to the Bihar Provincial Pakistan Conference (Gaya), April 9, 1944

Mr. M. A. Jinnah in a message to the Bihar Provincial Pakistan Conference congratulated Muslim youths for their organising Muslim India under one flag and asked them to go forward ahead independently of him as he could not be everywhere.

"I am trying to attend to the matters" he added, "which

require my immediate attention and which I consider most essential. It is physically impossible for me to go about but I would advise you to march on to organise the Muslims in every department of life educationally, economically, socially and politically. I wish your conference all success from the bottom of my heart. Stand united and we shall win Pakistan."

The Dawn, April 12, 1944.

657

Statement on the breakdown of Jinnah-Khizr Talks, Lahore, April 27, 1944.

"We (Mr. Jinnah and Malik Khizr Hyat Khan) have had prolonged discussions; and since my arrival here for the second time, in continuation of our previous discussions which started as far back as March 19, I met Malik Khizr Hyat Khan on April 20, and he has discussed the mater with me during half a dozen interviews lasting over two hours or three hours on each occasion, and he had promised to give me his final reply today.

"He arrived at my house this afternoon. When I asked him what was his final attitude and that of Sir Chhotu Ram and Sardar Beldev Singh regarding the proposals which I had placed before him and them was, he then verbally told me many things, and I suggested that in fairness to him and me it is better that he should give me the final reply in writing, so that there should be no room for any misunderstanding. Accordingly, when he was here I dictated a letter to my private secretary. It was typed and handed over to him on the understanding that he will let me have his final reply in writing by 9 o'clock tonight, as I made it clear to him that we had discussed the whole question threadbare, and that it was not possible for me to wait any longer, specially as I was booked to leave for Sialkot tomorrow.

"He promised to let me have his reply by 9 o'clock tonight. I waited for the reply and at 9-20 p.m. I rang him up saying that I had not received from him the promised reply in writing.

"Much to my surprise on telephone he informed me that he had no reply to give except what he had told me verbally.

"Thereupon I sent him a letter, same date, after this telephonic conversation between him and me at about 9-30 p.m. I sent this letter with a responsible person to make sure that it was delivered to him. When he went there Malik Khizr Hyat Khan declined to acknowledge even the receipt of the letter on slip of paper which was sent along with the letter.

Declines to receive letter

"I had again to send Nawab of Mamdot, President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, and Mumtaz Daultana, M.L.A., with the letter and the slip on which he was requested to acknowledge the receipt, but he again declined to sign the receipt and receive the letter. I had to sent them a second time to deliver the letter personally to Malik Khizr Hyat Khan, and endorse upon that acknowledgement slip that they had in fact delivered the letter personally to him. This was on April 27 at 11 p.m. and their endorsement runs as follows:"

"We have personally delivered this letter to Malik Khizr Hyat Khan on April 27 at 11 p.m., and he refuses to acknowledge receipt of it. Therefore, we hereby state that we have in fact delivered the letter to him personally and certify to that effect."

(Sd.) Iftikhar Hussain Khan,
Mumtaz Daultana.

"Malik Khizr Hyat Khan has neither answered my first letter of April 27, which was delivered to him personally today,

nor my second letter of which he refused to acknowledge the receipt giving final reply in writing as to what Sir Chhotu Ram, Sardar Baldev Singh and he himself had to say with regard to the proposals of ours, which now had been the subject-matter of discussion since my arrival in Lahore and had been discussed threadbare. The proposals are:

(1) that every member of the Muslim League Party in the Punjab Assembly should declare that he owes his allegiance solely to the Muslim League Party in the Assembly and not to the Unionist Party or any other party;

(2) that the present label of the coalition should be dropped, namely, "the Unionist Party"; and

(3) that the name of the proposed coalition should be the Muslim League Coalition Party.

"As Malik Khizr Hayat has not replied to me yet – 00.30 hours – it is now for the Muslim League to decide what course of action they should take."

Text of Jinnah's Letter

The following is the text of the letter delivered personally by Mr. Jinnah to Malik Khizr Hyat Khan:

Dear Malik Khizr Hyat Khan,

We have had prolonged discussion, and I shall feel obliged if you will be good enough to let me know your final decision with regard to the three points (mentioned above).

Please let me know to what extent Sir Chhotu Ram and Sardar Baldev Singh agree with all these three proposals or any of them and also whether you agree with all these three proposals or any of them. I hope that you will let me have your

reply by this evening as it is not possible to wait any longer.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. A. Jinnah.

The following is the text of the second letter addressed by Mr. Jinnah to Malik Hyat Khan which the Nawab of Mamdot and Mr. Mumtaz Daultana went to deliver to the Premier:

Dear Malik Khizr Hyat Khan,

You promised to send me your reply to my letter dated April 27 which was given to you this afternoon, by 9 o'clock at the latest tonight and I waited for it and rang you up that I was waiting for a reply because it was nearly 9-20 p.m. I received an answer from you that you have no reply to give except what you told me verbally. That is going back on your promise to give me your reply in writing. You said so many things verbally to me that it was impossible to know what your position was.

I once more request you to give me your reply in writing, and if I do not hear from you immediately in reply to this letter I shall conclude that you do not accept the three proposals or any of them that were made in my letter and in view of this the Muslim League now will have to decide as to what course of action they should adopt.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. A. Jinnah.

658

Speech at the Punjab Muslim League Conference, Sialkot, April 29, 1944.

Mr. Jinnah said: "Khizr has violated the discipline of the party of which he is a member. He has adopted a course which is

unprecedented and unheard of in the history of any political party in any country," declared Mr. Jinnah while speaking at the Provincial Muslim League Conference on April 30, 1944.

Mr. Jinnah began by narrating the history of his negotiations with the Punjab Premier which, he said, lasted for four weeks, and have now broken down.

"The issue before us," said Mr. Jinnah, "was this. Three proposals were put before Khizr Hyat Khan who was leader of the Muslim League Party. Firstly, every member of the Muslim League Party should owe allegiance solely to the League and to no other party. Secondly, Unionist Party label must be dropped, because this label has been mainly responsible for a huge fraud played upon the Muslim League in the Punjab. Members of the Muslim League Assembly Party were, as a matter of fact, members of the Unionist Party, and were bound by the creed, policy and programme of the Unionist Party, and were members of the League Party merely in name. Thirdly, the proposed name of the coalition should be the Muslim League Coalition Party."

Mr. Jinnah added: "Our final meeting took place on April 27, and Khizr was unable to give me a correct reply. These proposals were embodied in a letter which I dictated to my stenographer in the presence of Khizr."

Mr. Jinnah read the letter to the audience, and said that the letter was handed over to Khizr; he promised to send a reply by 9 p.m., but did not keep him promise. "He even refused to acknowledge my letter."

Mr. Jinnah emphatically asserted, amidst deafening cheers, that it was Khizr's duty as a member of the League to come to this session and explain his position. "He could tell me here that my position was wrong. He issued a lengthy statement ignoring the League altogether, as if the League did not exist at all. He violated the discipline of the party of which he is a

member. His was an unprecedented and unheard of case in the history of any political party."

Mr. Jinnah said that it was his painful duty to deal with Khizr's statement which was untrue and misleading. It was full of half-truths.

Mr. Jinnah dealt with the Premier's statement item by item and said that Khizr was not speaking as a true Muslim Leaguer, but as a plenipotentiary of an outside agency. Mr. Jinnah asked as to who was in a position to decide what the interest of the Muslims was; it was not Khizr whose position was not understandable.

Lot of Nonsense

Continuing, Mr. Jinnah said: "The statement that I promised not to interfere with provincial matters is devoid of the slightest truth. I deny it categorically. I cannot discuss everything in this statement. There is a lot of nonsense in it. But the crux of the problem is this. He says that Mr. Jinnah asks him to change the label of the Ministry against the commitment made to his colleagues by his predecessor, the late Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan and myself. I say what was that commitment. We did not make any commitment which we are breaking now. It was clearly laid down in the so-called pact – if they insist on calling it a pact, let them with all pleasure – that it was open to the League Party to carry on the present coalition or to enter into any other new coalition."

Giving a brief history of the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact, Mr. Jinnah said: "How could there be a pact between a leader and a follower!" He then thundered; "Bury this name Unionist. Perform its funeral ceremony. Why don't you agree to it? What are your reasons? You want to deceive the League. You never intended to fulfil your promise. You come to the League fettered and charmed by it. When God wants to destroy a people, He

makes them blind and they are led by a boy leader.".

War Effort

In reply to the Punjab Premier's statement regarding war effort, Mr. Jinnah described it as the nearest part of the statement, and said: "Our policy is of non-embarrassment. Our policy is not to obstruct war effort. In the cause of the defence of our country, our duty is greater than the Americans' or the Britishers.' This part of the statement is intended to poison the British and American public opinion." Mr. Jinnah cited the examples of England, Canada and Australia where elections had taken place and ministries reshuffled and said: "Is not business going on there? Are not they in the midst of war? Then why this insinuation against us? We want to put our house in order. That is all. We are working this constitution; but we are told that you can't put your house in order, although you are working the constitution."

Referring to the charge that the League was against the zamindars, Mr. Jinnah said, "The League is not against any interests among the Muslims."

Referring to other parties and communities, Mr. Jinnah said: "Even if we are in stable majority anywhere we will invite other communities, and ask them to choose their representatives who enjoy their confidence, and we will find place for them in all cabinets. It will be they who will choose their representatives, and not we."

Mr. Jinnah appealed for unity and efficiency in the League, and said: "The more you are united the lesser will be the chances of any harm being done to you. If you want to live with honour and freedom then unite and work."

659

Speech in reply to an Address presented by the Sialkot Muslim Students' Federation, Sialkot, April 30, 1944.

Replying to the address presented by the Sialkot Muslim Student's Federation in Urdu, Mr. Jinnah in the concluding speech of the session, observed that the Sialkot Session was not less important than that of Lahore in 1940. He said further, "Our fight is a constitutional fight and not a violent one."

Mr. Jinnah further said: "We have traitors among Mussalmans, we have no power with us. We have no jobs to offer them. We have no money to purchase them. The only course is to ignore them, and go ahead with your programme."

The Quaid-e-Azam started his speech saying: "I am not a young man like you, but your youthful spirit and enthusiasm have made me young. It is through your untiring efforts during the last seven years, I feel today, that you have strengthened my hands tremendously. We can claim now that we are not a community, but a nation. There is not a single Muslim who does not know what we stand for. Even a child knows that a Muslim stands for Pakistan. But the question is how to achieve it.

"To achieve Pakistan is our right. For, our opponents are creating difficulties for us. It is their right to do so. (Laughter.) But we should not forget at the same time that we have some obligatory duty to perform, and that is to destroy all such forces which are likely to come in our way. What pains me most is the fact that there are Muslims, our own brothers, who knowing what Pakistan means for Muslims, are a party to such obstruction.

"I admit we have some defects in ourselves. Even now we cannot claim that our organisation is faultless, because it is

not an easy job to reorganise a nation. However, I appeal to the Ahrars, Jamiat-i-Ulama, Shias, Sunnis, Jats, Rajputs, Afghans, and Momins, and all other Muslims to sink minor differences in the name of God, and come to the platform of the Muslim League and under one flag of Mussalmans. Let us sit together, and try to understand each other. If we are wrong give us advice and guide us. I am convinced we shall reach a conclusion which would definitely be useful and beneficial for Muslims' interests.

"I may remind them that Muslims are passing through a most critical stage in their political life."

Mr. Jinnah declared: "There are traitors among Mussalmans, I am pained to use the word traitor, but I can't help it, because they are really so. I do not know how to correct them. The only thing we can do is to expel them from our organisation."

Referring to the efforts from some quarters to disrupt the Muslim rank and file, Mr. Jinnah said: "The present move of non-Muslims is not a new move. It has been done for long in one form or other. The simple-hearted Mussalman always believed them all through. He thought he can safeguard his right and interests only by remaining with them, but he has been deceived."

The Quaid-e-Azam traced the history of how seven years ago, when he started reorganising the Muslims, the mass contact plan was started by the Congress. They claimed Muslims were with them, and foolishly enough they challenged the Muslim League. Muslim candidates were set up on Congress ticket in the bye-elections. Through the grace of Allah, the Muslim League has not only defeated them one by one but routed them. Today, they dare not set up any Muslim on their ticket.

"Then they created Shia-Sunni friction. Next came the

Azad Board into existence which collapsed soon. Lastly came the Momin Conference which went to the extent of claiming to represent 4½ crores of Muslims. They also realised at a later stage that they counted the number by mistake. All such attempts were made to minimise the League's strength.

Link of the same chain

"The latest move," Mr. Jinnah observed, "in the Punjab is a link of the same chain. As a matter of fact, I cannot blame them for that. It is the Mussalman of the Punjab who is responsible for this state of affairs. But I announce here with great pleasure that we have caught the culprit. We have not only caught him, but have also discovered his fraud which was being practised over us for the last six years. Now they have been exposed, and it has been proved that they were never sincere with the League. The culprit has not been challenged yet. The charges are to be framed against him. Then, we shall pass our judgment.

"It is up to Muslims of the Punjab to decide what punishment should be awarded to the culprit. I am only a humble servant of yours. It is my duty to inform you and warn you against your enemies.

"People call me a dictator. But it was my duty as the President of the Muslim League to demand an explanation from the members of our organisation who make mistakes. The Muslim League has its All-India Working Committee, All-India Council, Committee of Action, Central Parliamentary Board, and the Provincial Punjab Muslim League. They would examine the case and give their verdict."

Importance of Sialkot

In conclusion, Mr. Jinnah said: "I would like to make one thing clear, that Muslims now can no more be deceived by anybody. They are awakened. Till before last week the Muslims

in the Punjab had no courage. They were afraid of somebody or other. Now the situation is entirely changed. They have shaken off all sorts of complexes of fear, and understand that if the Mussalmans of one place were oppressed they would face it unitedly. We have achieved so much."

Mr. Jinnah was loudly cheered when he said that the Sialkot Session is not less important than the Lahore Session. "From here we are taking a further step which is a constitutional one. Our fight is a constitutional fight – can we win this fight. If tomorrow all the 89 Muslim members of the Punjab Assembly are united and join the League Party the verdict is in our favour. But it is no easy job. In case you don't succeed in getting all members, bring at least majority with you. Then we shall achieve our object. After seeing your enthusiasm at Sialkot I am greatly heartened, and have no doubts about the success. The day is not far off when you will have the reward of your sacrifices. *Khuda Hafiz.* (F.O.S.C.)

The Eastern Times, May 2, 1944.

660

Statement to the Press in reply to the Joint Statement of the Non-Muslim Ministers of the Punjab on the League-Unionist Controversy, May 3, 1944.

"So now, at last, the statement issued by the non-Muslim Ministers makes it clear that it is not the Jinnah Pact, nor anything over and above it by way of secret commitments that may have been made as alleged and stated by Malik Khizr Hyat Khan recently, by his revered predecessor, Sir Sikandar and himself, the nature of which has not up to the present moment been disclosed, which prevents them from entering into

a coalition with the Muslim League but that the non-Muslim Punjab Ministers are ready and willing to agree to the formation of a League coalition ministry, provided they are satisfied with regard to the points raised in their statement published in this morning's papers," said Mr. Jinnah in the course of a statement to the press.

Mr. Jinnah said: "With regard to the first point it is obvious to any intelligent man that an all-India understanding or settlement cannot be accomplished when they are dealing with only three non-Muslim Ministers in the Punjab whose position is as follows:

"Sir Chhotu Ram does not represent more than nine Jat Hindu members of the Punjab Assembly, and this is the only section behind him. "Sardar Baldev Singh does not represent more than ten members as his group consists of only ten Sikh members out of a total number of 28 Sikhs. And Sir Manoharlal has no following of any kind whatsoever.

"In other words these three gentlemen together do not represent more than 20 members out of the total number of 175 members of the Punjab Assembly. The demand that we should come to an all-India settlement or understanding with them is on the face of it preposterous.

"Similarly, how can we come to any settlement with regard to Pakistan – an All-India question – with these individuals? If such a course was adopted the settlement or arrangement would be on the one hand, binding on the Muslim League which is undoubtedly the authoritative organisation of the Mussalmans of India, but nobody else or no other organisation outside these three non-Muslim Ministers of the Punjab would be bound by any settlement that might be arrived at on this question. It is really surprising that the patent absurdity is not present to their mind. Our proposal to form a League coalition ministry is under and within the limits of the

present constitution and the Government of India Act, 1935, as it is applied and worked in the province of the Punjab.

I regret I have failed to make them understand the elementary principles on which coalition are formed or dissolved in any Legislature.

"As regards the third point (c), this I can only characterise as insidious tactics intended to poison the mind of the public in England, America, India and elsewhere, as it contain insinuations that the Muslim League is opposed to war efforts and the successful prosecution of the war, and they arrogate to themselves the right that they are the only champions and defenders of India.

"Our policy has been made clear from the very commencement of the war, and we have never put any difficulties or obstructions in the way of war efforts or embarrassed the British Government in any way whatsoever. That has been made clear as an actual fact by the co-operation of the Muslim League Ministries in Bengal, Assam, the North-West Frontier Province, and Sind, and the same position will be continued in the Punjab if we are able to form a Muslim League Ministry in the province of the Punjab.

"If the Government or the Government of India are misled, and the present Punjab Ministry, under the false pretext that the Muslim League is opposed to war efforts, is allowed to resort to repressive or oppressive measures, or if they stifle the constitutional liberty of the people of the Punjab and the free and independent working of the constitution, they will be making a very great mistake.

"In England and in Canada elections were held in the midst of the war and cabinets have been formed. In Australia the Menzies Cabinet went, and another cabinet was formed in the midst of the war, and thereafter the legislature was

dissolved, and fresh elections were held. In India itself Mr. Fazlul Huq's Ministry went and the Muslim League Ministry was formed.

"In Sind Allah Bux Ministry went, and the Muslim League Ministry was formed. In the North-West Frontier Province Section 93 went, and the Muslim League Ministry was formed. Therefore the question is: Is the present constitution under which we are working to function fully and freely, and the constitutional liberty should not be interfered with or curtailed? The present legislature is now seven years old. We have repeatedly urged that fresh elections should be held, but the Government has turned a deaf ear so far. Are we not entitled to make every legitimate effort to put our house in order and work the constitution under the present Government of India Act, 1935? Either we should be allowed full freedom to work it, or we must be definitely told to close down our shutters.

"But it will be a great blunder to interfere with constitutional liberties under the pretext that they might interfere with the war efforts.

"As we have already been threatened and informed in some sections of the press that the Government have got ample and extraordinary powers which they can use I hope that the Government will not abuse these powers and be stampeded into any hasty action.

Sikh Demand

As regards Sardar Baldev Singh's fear, as reported by the press that joining the Muslim League Coalition Party would amount to his acceptance of Pakistan, it is entirely wrong. No party that enters a coalition ever forswears its creed *ipso facto* or is compelled by merely joining coalition to accept the creed and ideals of other party.

"As regards the Sikh demand, I have repeatedly requested the Sikh leaders, including Sardar Baldev Singh, and even in my recent interviews with him last month repeated my request personally, to make their proposals as to what they want, and now I once again publicly request the Sikh leaders to acquaint me with their proposals as to what the Sikh community desires; and, as this is not an All-India question and is confined only to the Punjab, we are ready and willing to come to any fair and equitable adjustment with them on behalf of the All-India Muslim League.

661

Reply to the joint address presented by the Muslim Conference and Muslim Students' Federation, Jammu, May 8, 1944.

"If the Kashmir Muslims want to achieve their ends, they should mu ter under one organisation and one banner," said Mr. M. A. Jinnah, replying to a joint address presented to him by the Muslim Conference and Muslim Students' Federation.

Clarifying the policy of the Muslim League once for all the Quaid-e-Azam observed, "Our policy is of non-interference in States, but when we see that Muslims of any State are terrorised, we cannot remain idle and indifferent spectators. It will be our duty to come to your rescue because all Muslims whether they live in China or Palestine are brothers."

Referring to the Kashmir State the Quaid-e-Azam said: "I know you, Muslims, and non-Muslims of this State, want a

complete responsible Government. It is a matter between you and your ruler, but I want your ruler to allow his people to manage their own affairs. In this question we will not interfere, but if the Muslims of this State are mal-treated, then certainly Muslim India will come to their help."

Discussing Pakistan question, Mr. Jinnah said, "We want Pakistan in British India. We leave the matters to be decided by you and you only what mode of Government you want." He assured the non-Muslims once again that whenever Muslims will be in power, non-Muslim religion and culture will be safe.

Concluding the Quaid-e-Azam said: "Non-Muslims should give up the policy of dividing Muslims into different groups because they will fail in their attempts as the Mussalman of India is now awake and alert, and he is not going to be misled any further. For the independence of India, he told non-Muslims, that they should come to terms with the Muslim League. (O.P.)

The Dawn, May 10, 1944.

662

Message to the Tanjoore District Muslim League Conference, Srinagar, May 18, 1944.

"I wish the Conference all success. Muslim India must stand solidly united under the banner of the League. We are confident that we shall achieve Pakistan."

AFM/KU/QA/Clip 13/p. 95

663

Talk to Kashmir Journalists, Srinagar, May 23, 1944.

"I am very grateful to you for having taken the trouble to meet me here. The press is a great power and it can do good as well as harm. If rightly conducted, it can guide and instruct public opinion, and I have no doubt that Kashmir Press will follow the noble traditions of journalism and serve the public impartially.

"I have already given indication, of what I would like to see in Kashmir, in my speeches in Jammu and Srinagar, on my arrival. A vexed question was put to me: "Among Muslims who can become a member of Muslim Conference?" and this question was particularly in reference to Qadianis. My answer was that so far as the constitution of the All-India Muslim League was concerned, it is laid down there that any Muslim, irrespective of his creed or sect, if he wishes to join the All-India Muslim League, he can do so, provided he accepts the creed, policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League and signs the form of membership and pay his subscription of two annas.

"I would appeal to Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir not to raise any sectarian issues, but to organise the Mussalmans and bring them on one platform and under one flag. In that direction lies the salvation of the Mussalman and achievement of solid and effective political, social, educational, and economic progress and welfare: not only of Mussalmans but all other communities, and the Kashmir State itself. There are the National Conference, the Muslim Conference, the Hindu Rajya Sabha, the Yuvak Sabha and the Sikh party.

Q. Is it not better that there should be one party only?

A. That is a matter for each community to decide.

Q. Can the Muslims alone achieve responsible Government in Jammu and Kashmir State?

A. I think they can, unless Hindus and Sikhs are opposed and prefer the present system of government to continue. I believe that progress will be greatly accelerated if each community were to organise itself, secure in the sense that they were free to allow their own faith, their culture, their language, and confident that the majority will give to the minorities a fair deal and justice.

"Any attempts or endeavours by one community or the other to disrupt or interfere with the freedom of the other, to organise themselves as they may determine, is bound to fail and will only hinder the progress of the people.

"So far as the Jummu and Kashmir State is concerned, the question of the partition of the State does not arise as the State and its population is constituted, and have only expressed my views on that basis. The problem of British India is quite different. (F.A.C.)

The Dawn, May 25, 1944.

664

Statement regarding League and Qadianis (Ahmedis), Srinagar, June 10, 1944.

Mr. Jinnah has issued the following statement to the press. "I find that in certain sections of the press a great deal of confusion and misrepresentation is taking place with regard to my interview with Pir Akbar Ali, M.L.A. and I wish to make it clear that in my interview I made it clear to him that so far as

All-India Muslim League is concerned, we are governed by Clause of the Constitution of our organisation and that I cannot do anything except point out that according to our constitution every candidate for membership of the primary branch of the All-India Muslim League must be a Mussalman and a resident of British India and must not be less than 18 years of age.

It is entirely incorrect that I have agreed to anything that it is in my power to override the Constitution, when I received the letter from "Nazir-e-Umoor Amma Kharijah, Qadian. I, by my letter dated May 5, made the position clear to him." (O.P.)

The Dawn, June 11, 1944.

665

Speech at the Kashmir Muslim Conference, Srinagar, June 19, 1944.

(The proceedings began after a short speech by Chaudhri Ghulam Abbas, the President of the Conference. An address of welcome, expressing the gratefulness of the Muslims of Kashmir towards Mr. Jinnah for the keen interest taken by him in their affairs and offering their fullest to the Indian Muslims' demand for Pakistan, was presented to the Quaid-e-Azam by the Conference).

Mr. Jinnah, while replying to the address, spoke for an hour in Urdu and said, "I cannot find proper words to express my feelings of gratitude for the honour done to me. I have been in Kashmir for more than a month, and, in spite of the fact that I came here to take rest after continuous work for eight years, I have been seeing Muslim brethren, who came to see me. I have found that 99 per cent of the Muslims of the Jammu and

Kashmir regard the Muslim Conference as their representative organisation.

"I am glad to find that the Muslims of the State have been roused, and they now stand united, as I now see among the one lakh people assembled here in this *pandal*, old and young, rich and poor, labourers and businessmen."

He continued, "Mr. President, now it is for you to answer their call to organise them. I have met certain friends who hold the view that they should work with the Hindus and the Sikhs under a national organisation. They have been working for eight years to achieve this end, but when I asked them whether the Hindus had joined the National Conference, they replied in the negative."

Need for Unity

He asked those Muslims to answer as to who was with them if the Hindus and the Sikhs had not joined the National Conference, and how they could realise their wishes of showing to the outside world that Kashmir had one and only one organisation.

Addressing such Muslims he added, "Does it not mean that you have divided the Kashmir Muslims and blocked progress. This is impossible, and you can never succeed in this way."

Mr. Jinnah then cited the example of the Congress which followed this policy for 40 years and had failed.

"The Congress", he said "got hold of certain Muslims and Sikhs, and propagated that India had one national organisation, but let me tell you that if the Muslims are not with the Congress, the Sikhs, the Scheduled Castes, and the Christians are also not with the Congress. Now the Nationalists want to play the same game in Kashmir and exploit the minorities."

Further on he said, "I say to the Hindus in minority here that the Mussalmans will always treat them justly and generously. Let them organise separately."

Struggle Hard

"I have been told that the demand of the Muslim Conference is full responsible Government in the State. Let me tell you that without working hard it cannot be achieved. You should struggle for achieving your end. It is said that there is everything here – emerald studded with diamonds – but what have you made of it? What have you done so far? Responsible Government is not a cake which the Maharaja and his advisers would bring to you and ask you to eat. You must try your best to achieve your end. I and the All-India Muslim League are at your back, and you enjoy our fullest moral support."

Regarding Pakistan Mr. Jinnah said, "The Indian Muslims have the fullest sympathies with your demand, and we pray for your success and you should pray for ours. I would advise you in every matter I can, because it is my duty to serve you. You should now take off your coats and start working, and I have no doubt that success will be yours; and I am sure that your ruler will meet your demand for responsible Government. I wish you success.

666

Speech in reply to the Address presented by the Muslims Students' Union, Srinagar, June 19, 1944.

While replying to the address presented by the Muslim Students' Union he said that he attached more importance to this address as it came from the educated classes. He advised the

students to have one organisation and work unitedly.

"I would advise my young friends to pay attention to your studies first, and not to take part in practical politics.

"You should work with your national organisation and carry its message to your people in the villages and to the country-side. I thank you for the honour done to me and wish you god-speed."

667

Statement condoling the death of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung, Srinagar, June 26, 1944.

"I was deeply grieved to hear the sad news. In him, Islam and the Mussalmans have lost one of their staunchest and sincerest workers. His passing away has deprived us of one of the greatest advocates of Muslim welfare and progress. My heartfelt sympathies go out to his widow and his family in their sad bereavement."

AFM/KU/QA/Clip 13/p.91

668

Correspondence between Mr. Jinnah and Mr. C. Rajagopalachari on the latter's formula for a Hindu-Muslim Settlement released on July 9, 1944.

The following is the text of the correspondence between Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and Mr. Jinnah:

New Delhi,
8th April, 1944.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Here is the basis for a settlement which I discussed with Mr. Gandhi, in March 1943, and of which he expressed full approval. He then authorised me to signify his approval of these terms, should I be able to convince you of their being just and fair to all. As the Government have refused to relax any of the restrictions imposed on him to enable him to discuss or negotiate terms of any settlement, I write this to you on his behalf and hope that this will bring about a final settlement of the most unfortunate impasses we are in. You are aware of the intensity of my desire for a settlement.

I was very glad when I found it possible to obtain Mr. Gandhi's approval of these terms, I hope that you will bestow your fullest thought to the justice and fairness of these proposals and help to terminate a condition of affairs which is steadily causing all round deterioration in the country.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) C.Rajagopalachari.

Basis for terms of settlement between the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslims League to which Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah agree and which they will endeavour respectively to get the Congress and the League to approve:

Subject to the terms set out below as regards the constitution for free India, the Muslim League endorses the Indian demand for independence and will co-operate with the Congress in the formation of a provisional interim government for the transitional period.

After the termination of the war a Commission shall be

appointed for demarcating contiguous districts in the north-west and east of India, wherein the Muslim population is in absolute majority. In the areas thus demarcated, a plebiscite of the inhabitants held on the basis of adult suffrage or other practicable franchise shall ultimately decide the issue of separation for Hindustan. If the majority decide in favour of forming a sovereign State separate from Hindustan, such decision shall be given effect to, without prejudice to the right of districts on the border to choose to join either state.

It will be open to all parties to advocate their points of view before the plebiscite is held."

In the event of separation mutual agreements shall be entered into for safeguarding Defence, Commerce, Communications and for other essential purposes.

Any transfer of population shall only be on an absolutely voluntary basis.

These terms shall be binding only in case of transfer by Britain of full power and responsibility for the governance of India.

C.R.'s Disappointment

New Delhi,
17th April, 1944.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The proposal I gave you in writing when we last met in Delhi must be still with you, and perhaps you must have read it over again and given further thought to it. I was much disappointed, as you are aware, at your inability to approve of the terms. But I hope you may perhaps reconsider your position. I sincerely believe that the proposals form a fair and satisfactory basis of settlement. I shall be grateful to hear from you as to

whether you have reconsidered the matter.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) C. Rajagopalachari.

TEXT OF TELEGRAMS

Poona, 30th June, 1944

Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah,
Guest House, Srinagar.

My letter dated April 17 touching the matter personally discussed on April 8 remains yet unanswered. I have not met Mr. Gandhi who still stands by the formula presented to you by me. I would like now to publish the formula and your rejection. This telegram is sent with Mr. Gandhi's approval. I would like you at this juncture to reconsider your rejection.

(Sd.) C. Rajagopalachari
'Dilkhush,' Panchgani

GHANDI'S REPLY DESIRED

Srinagar, 2nd July, 1944.

Rajagopalachari,
'Dilkhush', Panchgani.

Your request to publish your formula. Your wrong version of our talk that I rejected your formula is unfair and surprising. The true facts are that I was willing to place your formula before the Working Committee, Muslim League, although it was not open to any modification but you did not agree to allow me to do so. Hence no further step was taken. My reaction was that I could not personally take responsibility of accepting or rejecting, and my position remains the same to day.

If Mr. Gandhi even now sends me direct his proposal I am willing to place it before the Muslim League Working Committee.

(Sd.) Jinnah.

. . . . .

Panchgani,
4th July, 1944.

Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah,
Guest House, Srinagar.

Thanks for telegram. My letter dated 17th April showed how I felt over what I thought was rejection of the formula so far as you were personally concerned. I shall be glad in deed if as your telegram suggests that you did not reject it. Though not vested with representative or special authority in this matter Mr. Gandhi definitely approved of my proposal and authorised me to approach you on that basis. Now again has reaffirmed his assent. The weight of his opinion would most probably secure the Congress acceptance. You were unwilling to accept my formula but were willing to place it before the League Council. I think no purpose is served by such procedure so long as it does not have your own support.

(Sd.) C. Rajagopalachari.

. . . . .

Srinagar, 5th July, 1944.

Received your telegram dated Panchgani, 4th July, 1944. I regret I am unable to go beyond my telegram of 2nd July.

(Sd.) Jinnah.

Panchgani, 8th July, 1944.

M. A. Jinnah, Esq.,
Guest House, Srinagar.

Your telegram of 5th received today. With it private negotiation ends. It is necessary to take public into confidence now. I am accordingly releasing entire correspondence ending your wire dated 5th July.

(Sd). C. Rajagopalachari.

The Dawn, July 10, 1944

669

Message to South African Muslims on the occasion of Durban Educational and Cultural Conference, Srinagar, July 12, 1944.

"On the occasion of the Educational and Cultural Conference which you are holding at Durban and which I understand is the first of its kind there, I send you my best wishes for the success of the conference.

"Let us now concentrate on the uplift of our people for their educational, political, economic, social and moral well-being. Let us co-operate and help the leaders to work for our collective good. We must rely mainly upon our own inherent qualities, our own natural potentialities, our own internal solidarity and our own united will to face the future. Let us make our Organisation—the Muslim League—stronger and stronger, a thoroughly efficient instrument to fight the great battle of Muslim India. I particularly appeal to the Muslim intelligentsia and Muslim youth to come forward and rise to the occasion. Final victory depends upon you and is within our

grasp. Let us rally round a common platform and under one banner for the attainment of our National goal — Pakistan.

QAP-File 1011/p. 17 &
The Dawn, September 1, 1944.

670

Statement to the Press on the position of Kashmir Muslims, Srinagar, July 25, 1944.

"I have been here now for some time, and I have seen all classes of people, and had the opportunity of hearing different views and also press reports which are unkind and unjust; but, on the whole, I am very thankful for the kindness that has been shown to me, especially by the Mussalmans."

"As I said on my arrival in Jammu, it is not the policy of the Muslim League to interfere in the administration of the state or to raise grave issues between the Maharaja's Government and the people. But we are certainly very deeply concerned with the welfare of the Mussalmans in the State, and I must say that even a casual visitor cannot but be shocked to see the condition of the people in the State even in matters of elementary needs. Sir B.N. Rau has just taken charge as a Prime Minister, and the people are looking to him and expecting that he will take effective measures for their betterment.

"During my stay here His Highness the Maharaja was away. He only returned to Kashmir on Saturday, and I was anxious to pay a call before leaving Srinagar. But the interview could not be arranged, as the Maharaja had numerous commitments and was not able to see me before I left. I thank the Government for the honour they have done to me and the hospitality that was shown to me as their guest. I wish the

people of Jammu and Kashmir all happiness and prosperity.

Under One Flag

"Regarding the Mussalmans, as I said, we are vitally concerned with their welfare, and I regret that, although Sheikh Abdullah and his party and the Muslim Conference discussed matters with me in Delhi and Lahore before my arrival here, and were good enough to accord me great reception, and were anxious that I should hear both sides and bring about a settlement, when I, after careful consideration, suggested that Mussalmans should organise themselves under one flag and one platform, not only that my advice was not acceptable to Sheikh Abdullah, but he indulged in language of a most offensive character in attacking me.

"My advice to Muslims was that differences can be resolved by argument, discussion and exchange of views and reason, and not by *Goondaism*. One thing to which I must draw the attention of the Kashmir Government is that *Goondaism* must be put down at any cost, and there should be constitutional liberty of speech and freedom of thought which is the elementary right of every citizen under any civilised form of Government.

"I shall watch the progress of the people of this State and of Muslims in particular with the keenest possible interest."

The Dawn, July 26, 1944.

671

Speech at a Public Meeting at Rawalpindi, July 27, 1944.

"No man living in this world desires more than I do a settlement, not only between the Hindus and the Muslims, but

also between the Sikhs, the Scheduled Castes and other communities living in this vast country", said Mr. Jinnah.

The signs of a better understanding, said Mr. Jinnah, were already visible on the horizon of India. Expressing the belief that Pakistan would come quicker than he had expected, Mr. Jinnah observed that he was working for it, not merely to attain freedom for ten crorers of Muslims, but also for thirty crores of other inhabitants of India, for it was his intention that there could be no Pakistan and independence of Muslim India, until and unless independence was achieved for thirty crores of Indians belonging to the other communities as well.

Addressing the Hindus and the Sikhs, present at the meeting, Mr. Jinnah said that they were fortunately present there in sufficient numbers. He asked them to get rid of the prejudices and the poison that were being poured out in a section of the Hindu press, which, he pointed out, had started a vigorous campaign to malign him. He appealed to them to consider the big problems before them dispassionately and calmly.

Mr. Jinnah went on to say that undoubtedly he would convert both the British Government and the Hindu leadership to his ideas, and make them agree to accept Pakistan.

Already, he said, there were signs of a change. He advised the Muslims to be vigilant and careful in what they do, and assured them that Pakistan was coming nearer to them. He appealed to them to remain firm and maintain solidarity in the ranks.

The Dawn, July 30, 1944.

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Speech at the Meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, Lahore, July 30, 1944.

"At last and it is to the good and conducive to further progress that Mr. Gandhi has at any rate in his personal capacity accepted the principle of Pakistan", declared Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

Mr. Jinnah said, "Since the release of Mr. Gandhi there has been a flood of statements, press reports, comments, and I have tried to follow all this carefully as is possible for me to do so particularly with reference to what is called by C. Rajagopalachari, his formula for Hindu-Muslim settlement and for the moment I wish to deal with that matter.

"Burying the past, and starting from a point let me examine the position. On May 18, 1943, Gandhi's letter to me from prison, dated May 4, 1943, was released, because it was stated that the *Dawn* had asked for its publication and that it was owing to public that the letter should see the light of the day. Hence the release of the letter is under Mr. Gandhi's instructions. In that letter Mr. Gandhi says:

"I have followed the proceedings of the Muslim League as reported in the *Dawn* columns. I welcome your invitation. I suggest our meeting face to face rather than talking through correspondence. But I am in your hands. I hope that this letter will be sent to you and if you agree to my proposal that Government will let you visit me. One thing I had better mention. There seems to be an "if" about your invitation.

"Do you say I should write only if I have changed my heart. God alone knows man's hearts. I would like you to take me as I am."

I knew the substance of this letter, because the Government had furnished me with it at the time; and in my

statement I pointed out that it was not the kind of letter that I expected from Mr. gandhi in response to the appeal which I made in my speech in April 1943 in my presidential address to Muslim League. It has now been fully borne out without shadow of doubt that Mr. Gandhi understood that there was an "if" about my invitation which was evaded, but nevertheless as usual the entire Congress press accused me of having gone back on my word and did everything in their power to misrepresent, vilify and mutilate my speech. That "if" still remains and the letter still remains undelivered to me. While Mr. Gandhi was busy and there had been a plethora of correspondence between him from Agha Khan Palace and the Viceroy and since his release he has been well enough to see numerous prominent men from day to day and carry on correspondence with Viceroy and others, he has not however thought it proper to send me even a copy of that letter, I being the addressee of the original, but thought fit to release it to the press.

League By-Passed

Then comes the next chapter. After all his efforts had failed to establish contact with Lord Linlithgow to negotiate with him over the head of the Muslim League, completely ignoring and by-passing it, he sought interview with Lord Wavell, his dear friend, conveying to him *ad nauseam* that he was a friend of the British nation and loyal son of the British Empire and that he should be allowed to meet the members of the Congress Working Committee in prison or they should be released, and for that purpose he said, "I plead now as a free man for such permission. If you will see me before deciding, I shall gladly go whenever you want me to."

This request of his was refused by the Viceroy by his letter of June 22. This "no" to Mr. Gandhi, it was reported, cast gloom over Poona. But even the final effort of Mr. Gandhi through the British journalist, Mr. Gelder, as go-between to link

him and Lord Wavell was only a misfire.

At this psychological moment, Mr. Rajagopalachari was at Poona, and suddenly I received a telegram from him on June 30 as another go-between complaining without any reason that his letter of April 8 remained unanswered; although he knew perfectly well that it required no answer as answer had already been given to him in April, and threatening me that he would like to publish the formula and my rejection. He said he had sent the telegram with Mr. Gandhi's approval and further warned me that he would like me at this juncture to reconsider my rejection.

In my reply I pointed out to him that his version that I had rejected the formula was wrong, and I am glad that he does not contradict the true facts as stated by me but confirms them. The correspondence was however abruptly released to the press, so that I should stand on my trial before the bar of public opinion of the world and India, and especially of Mussalmans. Immediately the word had passed and the Congress press framed various grave charges against me.

This Hindu Press

To give a few instances, in some of the so-called responsible newspapers — irresponsible and ill-considered reply from one who claims to speak for his community is nothing short of a betrayal of his community and country at large..." "It is now up to the Muslim community to judge the offer on is merits and find the leader who will play the game..." "Intoxicated with ego and vanity..." "Uncompromising attitude... a block in the way of freedom of India..." "Mr. Jinnah should be sacked or made to retire by Muslim India" and so on and so forth.

It is surprising that even Mr. Gandhi at this juncture has encouraged this propaganda both in this country and abroad by enemies of the Muslim League by stating in his interview on

July 13 that the British Government is using me as a cloak and that this "diabolical conspiracy to stifle India's aspirations must be broken."

This is the background of the so-called negotiations for Hindu-Muslim settlement started by C. Rajagopalachari with the approval of Mr. Gandhi; and from the varying statements and contradictions today only one essential issue emerges that I am put on my trial and that I have now to defend myself. My only sin, to use Mr. Gandhi's own words, was that I requested C. Rajagopalachari to allow me to place his proposal before my Working Committee and that as Mr. Gandhi was no longer in prison I requested that he should directly communicate to me whatever proposals he may choose to put forward, assuring him that I would place them before my Working Committee.

What was the objection to such a course. I fail to appreciate the line adopted by Mr. Gandhi and C. Rajagopalachari, and I am willing to face the verdict of the Muslim League and any other independent and impartial men in India or abroad.

This is so far as the procedure adopted is concerned. Now we come to the form of formula. These proposals were not open to any discussion or modification. It was on the basis of 'take it or leave it'. It seems that Congress philosophy goes better than British Imperialism.

Even the Cripps' proposals had the sanction behind them of His Majesty's Government and His Majesty's Government had sent one of the members of the Cabinet all the way to India to personally approach the Congress and the Muslim League. Not only that, Cripps was closeted with the Congress leaders and the Working Committee for more than two weeks in explaining and clarifying whatever points were raised by the Congress and the Muslim League. True, there also was that rigidity that the fundamentals of Cripps' proposals were not

open to any modifications, and that was the reason why he failed. But Mr. Gandhi and C. Rajagopalachari are out-heroding Herod.

Pure Dictation

This is pure and simple dictation and not sincere desire to negotiate. In the first place, C. Rajagopalachari is the expelled member of the Congress, and whatever individual efforts he may have made were by virtue of approval of Mr. Gandhi to his proposals during Mr. Gandhi's incarceration. But once Mr. Gandhi is released and is a free man, it is up to Mr. Gandhi personally to deal with this grave problem of settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question, and there is no need of any go-between. But Mr. Gandhi is too ill and in his recent interview, when any question was put to him, he directed the question to C. Rajagopalachari, and the press representatives have been told that he personally subscribed to C. Rajagopalachari's offer when he was fasting in prison camp. It is now 16 months old and for the rest of the offer I must carry out the contract between C. Rajagopalachari and myself. He is to bear the brunt of all criticisms that might be made about that offer. It is a pity that he gives no indication of this in his famous letter of May 4, 1943, which still remains undelivered to me; and it has got a new name now, it is not a formula but an offer.

As regards Mr. Gandhi, who says he has subscribed to this offer (but according to C. Rajagopalachari, it is "a joint contribution and formula") the question arises in what capacity can Mr. Gandhi's association be judged, for he is not even a four-anna member of the Congress. He has got so many capacities – his personal capacity, his capacity as a dictator of the Congress, and above all his Mahatmic divine authority which is guided by his inner voice and he is a *satyagrahi* and sole interpreter of what it means and stands for. He is not Hindu but *Sanatanist* and he follows Hinduism of his own. It is rather difficult to know

as to what capacity Mr. Gandhi will use at the given time.

Study League Constitution

Mr. Gandhi, I hope, will be good enough to study the constitution, rules and regulations of the All-India Muslim League, and then he will better understand my position as the President of a really well-organised and democratic body, namely, the All-India Muslim League. I remember when Mr. Gandhi met Lord Linlithgow in September 1939 after the outbreak of war, he broke down and tears rolled down from his eyes when he visualised the possible destruction by bombing of Westminster Abbey and the Houses of Parliament and said, "What was the use of the Indian freedom if England and France were defeated," and in a statement declared his whole-hearted and most enthusiastic support for the prosecution of war. But, hardly a week thereafter, the Congress Working Committee decided to non-co-operate if their demand for immediate independence was not met and, as a first step, the Congress members of the Central Assembly were ordered to withdraw. Mr. Gandhi turned round and said they were right; he was only in a minority of one and advised Lord Linlithgow to come to terms with the Congress approving their decision.

Now we come to the merits of the proposals. In this case, we are told by C. Rajagopalachari, to quote his own words, of series of telegrams which were released by him, "Mr. Gandhi, though not vested with representative or special capacity in this matter, definitely approved by my proposal and authorised me to approach you on that basis. The weight of his opinion would most probably secure the Congress acceptance." Mr. Rajagopalachari in his statement of July 16 from Panchgani starts with an absolutely untrue and misleading statement. He says: "It is now two years since I started work, even though I had secured Mr. Gandhi's unqualified support to the scheme and it conceded all that the Muslim League had ever demanded in its

resolution of 1940." If this is so, why not say we accept the League resolution of 1940.

Grossest Travesty

His formula is a parody, a negation of, and intended to torpedo the Muslim League's resolution of March 1940, and when he says that his formula concedes all that the Muslim League had ever demanded by its resolution, it is the grossest travesty. First of all, where does he find any mention of plebiscite of any kind in that resolution? Then why this ridiculous proposal f a plebiscite district-wise?

But let me take, clause by clause, some of the important point of Mr. Rajagopalachari's formula. First, take the preamble basis of the terms which if accepted will completely bind the Muslim League, whereas the Mahatma may withdraw his blessings as he is not speaking, according to C. Rajagopalachari, with the authority of the Congress or in his representative capacity whatever that may mean. Then we come to the first clause, "subject to terms set out below as regards the constitution"; I do not see "the constitution" in this formula. Which constitution does he refer to? Then comes the demand for our endorsing the Indian demand for independence. It implies that we are against the independence of the peoples of India, and both Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Rajagopalachari know that it is an uncalled-for insinuation to make and they are casting an unwarranted reflection upon the Muslim League.

Next comes the condition that we will co-operate with the Congress in the formation of a provisional interim government for the transitional period, thereby arrogating to the Congress a dominant and superior position and requiring our co-operation as a subordinate body with this leading organisation. As to the kind of provisional interim government for the transitional period that is to be formed, no indication is given as to its form, character, personnel, its powers, etc.

After the termination of the war, commission shall be appointed for demarcating contiguous districts in north-west and east of India, and a plebiscite of all the inhabitants would be held district-wise where Muslim population is in absolute majority. It is not stated who will appoint this Commission, what will be its personnel and its powers and who will enforce its findings. Really, how can Mr. Rajagopalachari stand unabashed and make a public statement that his formula concedes all that the Muslim League's resolution of March 1940 demanded?

Freedom to Parties!

It would be open to all parties to advocate their point of view before the plebiscite is held, although this agreement is intended to be only between the Congress and the League. Next, in the event of separation, mutual agreements shall be entered into for safeguarding defence, commerce, and communications and for other essential purposes. The question arises,. safeguarding these matters from whom and what does it mean? These mutual agreements are made obligatory, and it is not very easy to understand the significance of this clause.

Then comes the last clause which is the height if ingenuity. "These terms shall be binding only in the case of transfer by British of full power and responsibility for the governance of India. But it does not say to whom, how and when.

According to the latest statement of Mr. Gandhi, the August resolution is "absolutely innocuous," that, while his authority has lapsed, the August resolution has not lapsed. Let it now collapse, for Mussalmans do not regard it as innocuous, as both the demand and the sanction for it to force this demand are inimical to the Muslim ideal and demands.

Let Mr. Gandhi join hands with the Muslim League on the basis of Pakistan in plain and unequivocal language, and we

shall be nearer independence for the peoples of India which is so dear to the heart of not only Mr.. Gandhi but of the millions in this country. Mr. Gandhi and C. Rajagopalachari are putting the cart before the horse when they say that all these clauses can have any value or can become effective only if Great Britain transfers power to India. There is no chance of it unless Hindus and Muslims unite and by means of united front wring it out from the unwilling hands of rulers of Great Britain.

I am sorry if, by expressing my view honestly and freely and in self-defence, I have hurt anybody's feelings. I purposely did not wish to say anything when Mr. Gandhi was good enough to release to press his famous letter to me dated May 4, 1943. I refused to say a single word throughout the period commencing from the release of Mr. Gandhi. I refused to say anything when abruptly the correspondence was closed and released to the press by Mr. Rajagopalachari as I had expected along with the millions of people in this country that Mr. Gandhi would review and revise the entire situation and give a correct lead, having regard to the realities and conditions prevailing in India. But I think in fairness to the Muslim League and to myself I must now put our case before the bar of the world opinion, particularly the public opinion of Hindus and Mussalmans in this land, as by the tactics of Mr. Rajagopalachari, approved by Mr. Gandhi, I am forced to do so. But out of evil cometh good.

Pakistan Accepted

I do not mind all vilification and misrepresentation and base campaign that is carried on against me. But at last and it is to the good and conducive to further progress that Mr. Gandhi has, at any rate, in his "personal capacity" accepted the principle of Pakistan. What remains now is the question of how and when? This has got to be carried out. Mr. Gandhi knows and understands the position better than any living man, for in one of his articles in *Harijan* he put the question of Pakistan demand

in a nutshell.

This is what he said, "I hope the Quaid-e-Azam does not represent the considered opinion even of his colleagues. Pakistan, according to him, in a nutshell is the demand for carving out of India portions to be wholly treated as independent and sovereign states."

I am glad that Mr. Gandhi realises that 1944 is not 1942. It is so in more senses than one, and he may further take into consideration that 1939-40-41 is not 1944.

I hope I have made it clear that the procedure and method adopted is hardly conducive to friendly negotiations, and the form is pure dictation, as it is not open to any modification. This is not calculated to lead to fruitful results or a solution and settlement of the problem, which concerns the destiny of a nation of 100 millions of Muslims and their posterity.

"As regards the merits of the proposals, Mr. Gandhi is offering a shadow and a husk, maimed mutilated, and motheaten Pakistan, and thus trying to pass off as having met our Pakistan scheme and the Muslim demand.

But since all these happenings I have received a letter from Mr. Gandhi, dated July 17, and I replied to him on July 24 from Srinagar before my departure. They are as follows: Let us, therefore, wait and see, hoping for the best.

The Letters

Mr. Jinnah then read out the English translation of Mr. Gandhi's letter, written in Gujerati:

Brother Jinnah,

There was a day when I could induce you to speak in the mother-tongue. To day I take courage to write to you in the same language. I had invited you to meet me while I was in jail. I have not written to you since my release. But today my heart says

that I should write to you. We will meet whenever you choose. Don't regard me as the enemy of Islam or of the Muslims of this country. I am the friend and servant of not only yourself but of the whole world. Do not disappoint me.

I am enclosing herewith a translation of this letter in Urdu.

Your brother,
Sd. GANDHI.

The League President then proceeded to read his own reply, which is as follows:

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I received your letter dated 19th of July on the 22nd of July and I thank you for it.

I shall be glad to receive you at my house in Bombay on my return, which will probably be about the middle of August. But that time I hope that you will have recuperated your health fully and will be returning to Bombay. I would like to say nothing more till we meet.

I am very pleased to read in the press that you are making very good progress, and I hope that you will soon be all right.

Yours sincerely,
Sd. M. A. JINNAH.

"I ask you to pray and give me your blessings. God willing, we may come to honourable settlement."

QAP-File 810/pp. 202-213 &
The Dawn, July 31, 1944.

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Speech at the Lahore Muslim League Conference, Lahore, July 31,1944.

"If Malik Khizr Hyat Khan can even now take us into his confidence as to the nature of his secret undertaking to his non-Muslim colleagues and can convince that such an undertaking is in the interest of Muslims, I shall gladly offer to become a follower of the Punjab Premier", said Mr. M. A. Jinnah addressing the Lahore Muslim League conference in Urdu.

Continuing, Mr. Jinnah said, "Sir Chhotu Ram let the cat out of the bag on April 4 last when, in the course of an interview with him, he (Sir Chhotu Ram) told him that Malik Khizr Hyat Khan had solemnly assured his non-Muslim colleagues that he was a nominal Muslim Leaguer and that he had no faith in the League's creed, policy and programme.

"Where is such an undertaking in the pact," Mr. Jinnah asked, "even if we assume for the sake of argument that he joined the League under the so-called pact provided for the formation of a Muslim League Party in the Punjab Assembly which was allowed to maintain the present coalition or enter into a new coalition consistent with the creed, policy and programme of the Muslim League?

Mr. Jinnah then dealt upon the recent observations of the Punjab Premier that the Muslim League was opposed to the war effort, and said that such unfounded allegations were calculated to do harm to the very object, namely, the winning of the war for which the Premier professed much regard.

"The truth is," he said "that the Punjab Governor has a foolish friend in the Punjab Premier who, by misrepresenting the League attitude towards the war, is creating an erroneous impression among Muslims who have so much regard for the Muslim League."

Describing the Unionist Party as a caucus, he said that it was completely under the thumb of the Governor.

Proceeding, Mr. Jinnah said that he had received information that coercive, intimidative and repressive measures were being employed in the Punjab for collecting funds for the Zamindara League. He criticised "the use of the non-political platform of the National War Front for party politics" and warned the poweres-that-be to give up such tactics. He regretted that the Governor of the Punjab had completely shut his eyes to what was happening in the Punjab.

Concluding, he said that his journey from Srinagar back to Lahore which took him three days left not a shadow of doubt in his mind that Muslims of the Punjab are now wide awake. "Muslim," he said, "have a religious regard for the Muslim League. During the last three months, Muslims of the Punjab have acquired freedom of speech and thought, and they would soon acquire freedom of action."

The Dawn August 1,1944.

674

Address to a batch of Muslim League Workers at the summer School of Politics (the training centre for the Muslim League Workers) Lahore, August 4,1944.

"Fan out in all directions in the countryside of the Punjab and by your guidance, help and sympathy galvanise the rural Muslims", said Mr. M. A Jinnah addressing a batch of 40 trained Muslim Leaguers, on the eve of their departure on a tour of the countryside to popularise the message of the Muslim League among the Muslim masses.

Mr. Jinnah said that the strength of the Muslim nation

did not lie in Lahore. The real task before the Muslim League lay in uplifting the Muslims in rural areas, economically, educationally and socially, and the "political goal will come at your feet as sure as night follows day."

Referring to the League-Unionist controversy, Mr. Jinnah said that though it was not a pleasant thing to fight against their own brethren, during the last three months following the break of the Khizr-Jinnah talks the Muslims of the Punjab had taken rapid strides in organising themselves under the banner of the Muslim League.

"The Sialkot session of the Muslim League,"he said, "was the starting point and it has written a new chapter not in the history of the Punjab, but of India. Muslims of the Punjab, in these three months, have gained freedom of speech and thought and will soon acquire freedom of action."

Mr. Jinnah said that in the course of his recent journey from Srinagar to Lahore he had addressed on the wayside Muslim crowds estimated well over three lakhs. "This shows," he said,"that the message of the Muslim League is reaching the humblest hamlet in the countryside and its impart is being understood by the Muslim villagers."

Mr.Jinnah paid a tribute to the Muslim youth of the Punjab and described them as selfless soldiers and missionaries in the cause of the Muslim League and Islam.

The Dawn, August 5, 1944.

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Statement regarding Muslim League's Planning Committee, Lahore, August 4,1944.

In pursuance of the resolution passed at the Karachi Session of the All-India Muslim League in December , 1943, Mr.

M. A. Jinnah announces the appointment of a planning committee whose main function is to survey and examine the conditions of India and more particularly of the Pakistan area with a view to preparing the Muslims to participate in the natural developments in the direction of commercial and agricultural expansion and industrialisation and be ready for a gigantic and co-ordinated drive in the field of economic reconstruction especially in the postwar reconstruction.

The Committee consists of 23 members with Nawab Ali Nawaz Jung of Hyderabad (Deccan) as Chairman and Professor A.B.A. Haleem of the Aligarh Muslim University as Secretary.

Mr. Jinnah in an interview to the Associated Press said: "The representation on the Committee has not been given province-wise but on the footing that the members are best qualified to deal with the subject referred to them. Mr. Jinnah said: "I am now in a position to announce the Planning Committee and I have appointed the following gentlemen who will constitute the Committee with power to add to their number. The Committee will submit their report as soon as possible which will be placed before the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League to enable them to take such further action in the matter as they may think proper.

"I appoint Nawab Ali Nawaz Jung as the Chairman of the Planning Committee and Professor A.B.A. Haleem as the Secretary and Mr. A.S. Qureshi of the Anglo-Arabic College, Delhi as Joint Secretary. It will be for the Secretary to convene the first meeting of the Committee as soon as it is possible for him to do so.

The names of the members are: Khan Bahadur Mian Afzal Hussain (late Vice-Chancellor, Punjab University); Mr. Rafi Butt, Lahore; Khan Bahadur Abdul Aziz, Allahabad; Professor A.B.A. Haleem, Aligarh; Professor L.K. Hyder, Aligarh; Dr. Wali Mohammed, Lucknow; Mr. Ahmed Ispahani,

Calcutta; Hon. Mr. Shabuddin, Calcutta; Mr. Malang Ahmed Badsha, Madras; Mr.. Hatim Alavi, Karachi; Hon. Mr. A.R. Nishtar, Peshawar; Mr. Mohammed Husein Hasham Premji, Bombay; Mr. Syed Arifuddin. Hyderabad (Dn.); Dr. Anwar Iqbal Qureshi, Hyderabad (Dn.); Mr. Mohammed Elias Burny, Hyderabad (Dn.); Nawab Ali Nawaz Jung, Hyderabad, (Dn); Mr. Ahsan Yar Jung, Hyderabad (Dn.); Mr. Mohsin Ali, Bhopal; Mr. B.H. Zaidi, Rampur; Mr. A.S. Qureshi* Delhi; Nawab Mir Laik Ali, Hyderabad (Dn.); Mr. Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur, Hyderabad (Sind); Mr. S.M.. Bashir, Cawnpore; (A.P.I.)

The Dawn August 5, 1944.

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Speech at the Press Conference
Lahore, August 5, 1944.

An appeal to the press and leaders of all communities in India to maintain a complete truce, and apply their energies to create an atmosphere of friendliness and goodwill for Gandhi-Jinnah meeting, and withhold their judgment until then was made by Mr. M. A.. Jinnah addressing a press conference.

Referring to his coming meeting with Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Jinnah said, I naturally do not wish to say anything at present to the press representatives, and I am sure that you, gentlemen, here will not expect me to discuss them at present. Suffice it to say, that Mr. Gandhi has now accepted the principle of partition or division of India. In these circumstances I appeal to the press and leaders of all communities in India to maintain a complete truce, and apply their energies to create an atmosphere of friendliness and goodwill for my proposed meeting with Mr.

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* The correct name is Mr. M. L. Qureshi.

Gandhi, and withhold their judgment until them.

Mr. Jinnah added; "I also appeal to all to give us the fullest opportunity to do our best in the interests of the two great nations — Hindu and Muslim which may lead to the fulfilment of the desire of our heart, namely, the achievement of freedom for heart."

"We have got before us Mr. Gandhi's proposals with regard to the kind of National government that should be set up immediately, and they are now called Mr. Gandhi's latest seven points."

Firstly, he reserves the use of the weapon of civil disobedience whenever he thinks necessary.

Secondly, a National government during the war with full control of the civil administration, composed of persons chosen by the elected members of the Legislative Assembly.

Thirdly, the Viceroy and Governor-General would be like the King of England guided by his responsible ministers.

Fourthly, popular Government would be automatically installed in all provinces.

Fifthly, while in the Naitonal Government the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief would have complete control of military operations, there would be a Portfolio of Defence in the hands of the National Government, which would be genuinely interested in the defence of the country, and would be entitled to advise, and should be consulted in shaping policies.

Sixthly, the allied forces would be allowed to carry on operations on Indian soil, but the expense of such operations would not be borne by Indians.

Seventhly, Mr. Gandhi would then be willing to advise Congress participation in the National Government so formed.

This basis, said Mr. Jinnah, can only be worked out on the footing that the present constitution must be scrapped, and a new constitution be substituted for it. I warn the public to understand the far-reaching implications of these proposals, and the question arises that if this constitution is to be scrapped and a new constitution has got to be framed, then what about Pakistan?

Reserve Powers

Continuing Mr. Jinnah said: But after these proposals were put by Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Rajagopalachari makes a proposal which is vitally different. He says: "What we ask is that the Viceroy's reserve powers should not be claimed as they are claimed now. When we took over the Government in 1937 in the provinces there was the same quarrel as to the powers of the Governors. We came to an agreement. There was an understanding that except in extraordinary circumstances necessitating interference for the sake of the war, the minorities and so on, there should be no interference by the Governors. In the same manner a working arrangement about the Viceroy's reserve powers would be most practicable and easy.

"The entire management of the war has been left, according to the plan, in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief or the South-East Asia Command, military matters will not be interfered with by us. In the rest of the field of government there will be no difficulty in coming to working arrangement, as we came to in the provinces previously."

This, said Mr. Jinnah, amounts to practically the Cripps' proposals, namely, that we should participate in the Government under the present constitution immediately.

Proceeding he said: then next we have before us the question of Hindu-Muslim settlement, and before either of the above mentioned proposals of Mr. Ghandhi and Mr.

Rajagopalachari can be considered Hindu-Muslim differences must be settled first, and for that purpose Mr. Gandhi and I are going to meet, I hope very soon."

Complete Truce

"I would also urge upon the press and those who are behind the Muslim mushroom political coteries, which periodically spring up under varying names, composed of a few individuals, most of them thoroughly discredited, that this is a feature which must be put an end to, and I think the press and sometimes the obliging news-agencies might now revise their sympathy for them. And also these Muslims should now realise that their attempts to create disunity and disruption among the Muslims are utterly futile.

Position of Sikhs

As regards the Sikh community, Mr.Jinnah said: "some of the Sikh leaders are unduly perturbed. I have publicly asked them and again request them to let us have their proposals in a concrete form. Their position is mainly confined to the Punjab, and I am sure that the Muslim League and I shall endeavour in every way to meet them in a fair and reasonable way.

"They should not allow themselves to be influenced by any outside agencies, and I appeal to them not to put any obstruction in the way of our achieving Pakistan as they will be much better off in Pakistan than 'Akhand Hindustan."

He added, "I wish to say a word to make the position of the Muslim League clear, so far as the Scheduled Castes and other minorities are concerned. Their just claims will have to be met before any complete settlement is achieved. It is the cardinal principle of the Muslim League that the minorities, be they within Pakistan or Hindustan, shall be adequately safeguarded and protected, and this is in fact embodied in the Muslim League resolution of 1940 outlining the basic principle of Pakistan.

"I can tell my friends of the Scheduled Castes that at no time have I overlooked their interests and position and I may claim that in the past I have done all I could to help them, and I shall always stand for their protection and safeguard in any future scheme of constitution; for I think that the wrongs and injustices inflicted on them for centuries should not be allowed to continue under any civilised form of government.

Other Minorities

Answering the question whether he regarded the Sikhs as a sub-national group or a nation, Mr. Jinnah said: "It has been brought to my notice that the Sikhs think that I have described them as a sub-national group, and they feel hurt. This is only a constitutional phrase which means people belonging to a nation who are scattered all over a given territory or even islands, such as the Muslims are in the minority provinces, and at the time I used the expression 'Sub-national group' I made it quite clear that so are the Muslim in certain provinces. I think it was clear at the time I made that speech, and since this question has been asked I again make it clear, if possible, more clear. Sub-national group does not mean that Sikhs are not a nation. I do not dispute that the Sikhs are a nation. The recognised leaders of the Sikhs or their authorised organisations are welcome to send their proposals to me or to Mr. Gandhi or both of us if they like. They should give us their considered demand now and forget the past. So far as the Muslim League is concerned we are ready and willing to meet them in every way. We want to give the minorities such a deal that afterwards they may not feel that they have been taken in, but that they should be happy. This is the spirit in which I want to approach the whole problem."

Asked, if he would invite proposals from other minorities also, Mr. Jinnah said: "we two (Gandhi and Jinnah) are not the enemy of any particular community, and we are meeting, and our one and sole desire is to secure freedom for all

sections of the people of this country."

The Dawn, August 6, 1944.

The "Peoples War" adds:

Replying to the question whether the Imperialist policy of divide and rule can sabotage the proposed settlement between Ghandiji and himself, the League President said:

"The third party is there and it has been trying and will try to sabotage our efforts. But we have seen through their game rather too well and they cannot continue dividing us. I criticised Mr. Gandhi and differed from him, but I know as the entire world knows that Mr. Gandhi is incorruptible. If you have the same confidence in me that I too cannot be corrupted what stands in the way of our settlement? Only if one of us was corruptible, could the British game succeed. But that is not to happen and, God willing we shall come to a settlement."

Asked whether the Imperialists would raise other bogies and create other interests to deny power after Congress-League settlement, Mr. Jinnah said:

"Of course, they will. It is not that the Government is eager to transfer power and is just awaiting our settlement to say: 'Here! you boys are united and so have it.' But we, the Congress and the League together can face the Government and shall wring power out of their unwilling hands."

AFM/KU/QA/Clip 14/p. 66-B

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Interview to representatives of Punjab Muslim Students' Federation and Punjab Students' Federation Lahore, August 5, 1944.

"We are not enemies of congress. Only we do not agree

on certain points. But we should be united against common enemies, "said Mr. M. A. Jinnah, explaining his Pakistan demand to Mr. Nuster of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation and Mr. Balraj Mehta of the Punjab Students' Federation who met him at Lahore on august 5, on behalf of the Punjab Students' Bengal Relief Committee.

Mr. Jinnah added, "did not the League unite with Congress in the Central Assembly? We went into the lobby together and voted down supplies to government." Rounding off his explanation with a smile, Mr. Jinnah remarked,: "We shall have many things in common even when Pakistan is established."

"If we must have a separate State," continued Mr. Jinnah, "that will not mean we shall have nothing to do with each other. I am convinced both Hindus and Muslims will be happy when Pakistan is established. It is good for both."

"Do you think we shall allow anybody, whether he is Afghan or Pathan, to dominate us?" asked Mr. Jinnah and added, "we will tell them and others-India is for Indians. Hands off India. It will be foolish of the Hindus, and vice versa, that if Pakistan is invaded by any outside power they will not come out to defend it."

The Dawn, August 6, 1944.

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Speech at the Muslim League office in Bombay, August 11, 1944.

At the League Office Mr. Jinnah, unfurling the Muslim League flag, reiterated the determination of Muslims not to rest content till Pakistan was achieved.

"Whatever I wish to say," Mr. Jinnah said, "I have already stated at the press conference at Lahore. The Muslims are determined to have Pakistan. It is a question of life and death to ten crores of Muslims inhabiting this country, and to achieve our goal of Pakistan we will sacrifice everything. If we do not achieve our goal of Pakistan, we will be wiped out of the map of India." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, August 12, 1944

679

Statement regarding offer to Sikhs, Bombay, August 21. 1944

"My attention has been drawn to a report in the press from Lahore, dated August 14, that I have made an offer to the Sikhs. I categorically deny that I have ever made any offer or sent any scheme referred to in that report to any member of the Sikh community or anybody else. On the contrary I have both privately and publicly requested the Sikh leaders to send me their considered proposals which they deem to be in the best interests of the Sikh community, assuring them that I shall endeavour to meet them in every possible way, but I have not received any response so far. Some of the Sikh leaders position supporting Akhand Hindustan is an impossible one and cannot be accepted by us nor is it in their own interests. They are completely misled by outside agencies who are poisoning their mind against Pakistan." (A.P.I.)

QAP-File-810/p. 201 &
The Dawn, August 22, 1944

680

Id message to the Muslims of India, Bombay, September 18, 1944.

On this most auspicious and happy occasion I wish the Muslim of India, each and every one of you, Id Mubarak, peace, happiness and prosperity.

"The sacred month of Ramzan is just over, and you have emerged successful in the most trying ordeal of fasting and the rigour prescribed, having gone through it with exemplary patience and confidence. The long and eagerly awaited Id morning has now ushered into all Muslim homes a bright and glorious ray of happiness. Let us pray that this may bring peace and prosperity to us all.

"Since my last Id message to you, our progress as a nation has been steady and solid. we have moved from strength to strength, and today I am happy to say, I find the Muslims of India united as one man ready for any sacrifice for the advancement of our national cause. We have now set our hand to practical nation building work such as social, educational and economic, and specially the industrial reconstruction of the homeland comprising Pakistan. We have had to deal with some renegades of the '*Millat*' who were blocking our progress in the very heart of our lands. I am glad that the Muslims now realise their responsibilities, and they have clearly shown by their verdict in the recent by election at Multan that they cannot be easily deceived. We stand as one solid nation today.

"You know the world is passing through very critical times, especially the Islamic world and the Indian Muslim nation. we are face to face with grave problems concerning our freedom , integrity and prosperity. This is an acid test. But in the same spirit as you have shown in the month of Ramzan let us resolve once again on this most auspicious day, that we will

not spare any effort or hesitate to make any sacrifice till we have achieved complete independence and successfully marched to our goal of Pakistan.

"I cannot impress too strongly upon you the need, especially at this moment, of closing your ranks and intensifying your work of national organisation. Islam expects every Muslim to do this duty by his people. I appeal to you to make your contribution earnestly such as you are able, in support to Muslim League in order to consolidate and harness fully our nation.

"Let us lead the caravan of the 'Millat' successfully to its destination with our motto: 'Unity, faith and discipline."

QAP-File 810/p. 200 &
The Dawn, September 20, 1944

681

Statement on the leakage of Jinnah-Gandhi correspondence, Bombay, September 30, 1944.

My attention has been drawn to the report of Mr.Gandhi's speech after the evening public prayer, immediately after the announcement was made and the correspondence was released to the press. I regret that Mr. Gandhi should have said that he assured the public that the leakage had not occurred from his office and that he had strong reasons for his belief, thereby insinuating that the leakage occurred from my office.

He proceeds to say that he had drawn my attention to the matter and that I was indifferent. This is not correct. He had mentioned to me that a certain amount of speculation was given publicity in some newspapers before the release of the correspondence. My reply to him then was that Birla House was almost a public place where anybody and everybody was allowed, whereas I assured him that my house was a private residence and nobody could come in without previously specifying his business. I asked Mr. Gandhi what I could do in the matter and then the topic was dropped.

I must repudiate the insinuation made by him in acquitting his office without a thorough inquiry into this matter to find out who is really responsible for the leakage. I am sorry to note some of the things which he has said in the rest of that speech and also at his press conference. He has started a propaganda which has unfortunately given a lead and which is calculated to go against the spirit of our joint announcement.

QAP-File- 810/p. 199 &
The Dawn October 1,1944.

682

Statement on the subject of Jinnah-Gandhi Talks at a Press Conference, Bombay, October 4,1944.

My attention has been drawn to Mr. Gandhi's press statement which was published on September 29. It is a pity that he thinks that the presence of a third party hinders a solution, and it was very painful to me when he said, a mind enslaved cannot act as if it was free. No power can enslave the mind and soul of man and I am sure Mr. Gandhi is the last person to allow his mind to be enslaved. I do hope that he will

get over this depression from which he is perpetually suffering. We have to reach an agreement of our own and find a solution in spite of that third party.

Gandhi-C.R. Formula

As regards the other matters, Mr. Gandhi has unfortunately initiated his propaganda in right royal style, contrary to our joint statement. Apart from challenging the representative and authoritative status of the Muslim League, he is inciting Mussalmans against me, and he keeps on repeating the assertion throughout his statement that he has met the essence of the Lahore resolution by what he now calls his offer or offers in the shape of the Gandhi-Rajaji formula and his own proposal which he put forth at the eleventh hour. Any intelligent man can now see that in substance there is no difference between the two. What he calls his own offer came after he had rejected all the essentials of the Lahore resolution, and the Gandhi-Rajaji formula was shunted from the very commencement. Now that the matter is subject to public discussion and as Mr. Gandhi is making statements after statements and giving interviews which are so misleading, I am compelled to deal with what he calls his offer. Let us examine at least the main point:

1. Immediate grant of independence to India as one single national unit.

2. Immediate setting up of a national provisional interim government of his conception, as defined by him in his letter of September 15, which is as follows: "A provisional interim government which will be responsible to the elected members of the present Assembly or a newly elected one. It will have all the powers less those of the Commander-in-Chief during the war, and full powers thereafter. It will be the authority to give effect to the agreement that may be arrived at between the Congress and the League."

By the by it does not only recognise the existence of a third party but hands over to him all the powers of the Commander-in-Chief during the war and the defence, which is the most vital and overpowering department. This clearly means the establishment immediately of a central unitary or Federal government in charge of the entire civil administration with an overwhelming majority of the Hindus in the Legislature, which will be not less than 75 per cent to which the Cabinet will be responsible.

3. That when such a government is established it will before this govefnment , so established, to frame the constitution of free India or it will set up an authority which will frame the constitution after the British power is withdrawn.

Hindu Raj

4. That this National Government will draft the treaty and agreements as regards the administration of matters of common interest, as now made clear in what he calls his own offer, namely matters such as foreign affairs, defence, internal communications, customs, commerce and the like which he maintains must necessarily continue to be matters of common interest under an efficient and satisfactory administration of a central authority or Government. This can only mean that all these vital matters which constitute the life-blood of a state will remain vested in the National Federal Government proposed by him, to which finally full powers and responsibility for the Government of India will be transferred. It is, therefore, clear that the National Government will be brought into full being, established, and well in saddle according to these terms, with an overwhelming and solid majority of the Hindus; which virtually would be a Hindu Raj.

5. Then we are asked to agree to the most tortuous terms and accept the principle upon which areas are to be demarcated, namely district-wise, wherein the Muslim

population is in absolute majority, which according to Mr. Gandhi means that only that district will be reognised in which the Muslims have something like 75 per cent of Muslim population, for he says that by absolute majority he means as in Sind, Baluchistan or the North-West Frontier Province, but according to Mr. Rajagopalachari, absolute majority means as understood in legal parlance. Apart from the fact that the joint authors already differ, I find from the dictionary meaning that it means "a majority of all members of a body (including those voting and those not voting)."

6. That in areas thus demarcated, there will be promiscuous plebiscite on the basis of adult suffrage or other practicable franchise, and the form and the franchise will be decided again by the National Government referred to above, unless we can agree upon it before hand.

It is when we have agreed to all these terms and then alone comes the question of separation of those mutilated, broken areas (again subject to further conditions): (1) This matter can only be considered after the termination of the war, and (2) after the transfer of full power and responsibility for the Government of India to this National Government, and it will be then that this National Government will set up a Commission for demarcating contiguous districts as stated above, and complete its work of sheer vandalism, especially in the Punjab, Bengal and Assam and then its findings will be given effect to by this National Government, and these poor areas so paralysed desire to sever or separate from the All-India United Federal Government, fully and firmly established, then they must submit to and go through a promiscuous plebiscite, and if the verdict is in favour of the Muslims, even then all matters of vital importance, such as foreign affairs, defence, internal communications, customs, commerce and the like shall remain vested in and continue to be administered by a central authority or Government.

Tortuous and Crooked

This is what Mr. Gandhi calls a partition or division between two brothers, and it is really amazing that he should repeat ad nauseam that he has by his offer satisfied the essence or substance of the Lahore resolution. It would be difficult to conceive of a more disingenuous, tortuous and crooked assertion, which he keeps on repeating naively.

What is the use of misleading people and making confusion worse-confounded if we accept these terms, which present us with a veritable trap and a slough of death, it means the burial of Pakistan. But I see some ray of hope still, when he says, "If Rajaji and I have stultified the Lahore resolution, we should be educated."

I tried to do so, as far as Mr. Gandhi was concerned, for three weeks, but his ailment is so long-standing and so chronic that it is beyond the reach of a physician.

I hope that this appeal to the press and the public to educate him will not fall on deaf ears. But when he was asked, what next, he was pleased to say, "I shall act as the inner voice tells." For an ordinary mortal like me there is no room in the presence of his "inner voice."

Siamese Twins

Mr. Gandhi may sincerely believe that he has complied with the essentials of the Lahore resolution by his own offer or by the Gandhi-Rajaji formula, but it is pure imagination and delusion. The language and the terms of both, as clarified by Mr. Gandhi, show that they are like the Siamese Twins, and it is impossible to maintain that either of them satisfies any of the essentials embodied in the Lahore resolution.

Chinese Puzzle

His contradictions and inconsistencies even in a single

letter, however short, are beyond measure, and the sum total of all that has happened during the past four weeks, presents one with a Chinese puzzle. I will give one instance amongst many.

Fight to the Knife

"Where there is an obvious Muslim majority, they should have the fullest right to constitute themselves into a separate State. But if it means utterly independent sovereignty, so that there is nothing in common between the two, I hold that it is an impossible proposition. Then it means a fight to the knife." Here is an apostle and a devotee of non-violence threatening us with a fight to the knife, and according to him the talks have only adjourned sine die. But apart from that, what kind of separate State does he then concede to the obvious Muslim majority in their national homelands?

Mr. Gandhi, perhaps under provocation, again asserted that he has never admitted the claim of the Muslim League as the only authoritative organisation of the Mussalmans, and darkly hinted that there are other Muslim organisations with a large body of Muslim opinion behind them who do not see eye to eye with the League and do not support the two-nation theory. Thereby he has again made an attempt to discredit the Muslim League and disrupt the Mussalmans, for he knows that is not true. Of course, no nation can attain absolute and complete unanimity, cent per cent.

An Enigma

In one breath Mr. Gandhi agrees to the principle of division, and in the next he makes proposals which go to destroy the very foundations on which the division is claimed by Muslim India. On the one hand he wants a League-Congress agreement, and on the other denies its representative character and authority to speak on behalf of the Mussalmans of India. Mr. Gandhi is an enigma.

Territorial Adjustments

Mr. Jinnah elucidated a number of questions put by pressmen regarding the boundary of the Pakistan State. He was asked if any machinery will be set up to decide the case of predominantly non-Muslim border areas, of their intention to join Pakistan or Hindustan. Mr. Jinnah referred the questioner to the Lahore resolution which stated that the division should be on the basis of the present boundaries of the six provinces, namely N.W.F.P., the Punjab, Sind, Bengal, Assam and Baluchistan, subject to territorial adjustments that might be necessary.

He emphasised the words "subject to" and explained that territorial adjustments did not apply to one side only but on both sides, Hindustan and Pakistan.

"I made it clear," Mr. Jinnah said, "that if we agree on the fundamentals of the Lahore resolution then the question of demarcating or defining the boundaries can be taken up later in the same way as a question of boundaries arising between two nations and solved. It will be like one Government negotiating with the other and arrive at settlement."

"But there are no Governments," interrupted a reporter. Mr. Jinnah said that the two bodies would set up constitution-making bodies which would deal with the matter or even before that they might arrive at an agreement.

"Is there any possibility of your meeting Mr. Gandhi in the near future", he was asked. Mr. Jinnah said: "Mr. Gandhi says that it depends on the inner voice. I have no admission to that place. I cannot say."

The Muslim League President was asked whether he had any scheme for the constitution of Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah said that the principle of Pakistan should be first accepted and the scheme would be formulated thereafter.

Sovereign states

Further explaining the point, Mr. Jinnah referred to the previous question namely the absence of two contracting Governments on behalf of Hindustan and Pakistan and said that it was true there was no 'de jure Governments'. If the principle of division was accepted then it followed that both Hindustan and Pakistan would have to choose their own constitution make bodies. Those bodies as representing two sovereign states would deal with questions of mutual and natural relations, and obligations by virtue of the physical contiguity and they would then as two independent sovereign states _ two nations _ would come to an agreement on various matters. "Take the case of America," he said. "There are 23 independent sovereign states in America. They have their treaties and agreements with regard to their mutual interest. Even so the states in Europe have their own agreements with each other for inter-trade and commerce and even alliances. There are things that can be adjusted. Agreements and treaties are entered into even between two countries that have no physical contiguity. Here the two nations are neighbours and have physical contiguity.

Earlier, Mr. Jinnah said that one important issue that he had dealt with in his statement was whether the offer or offers of Mr. Gandhi have either of them satisfied the essence or substance of the Lahore resolution. He had explained the position fully. "Mr. Gandhi says", Mr. Jinnah added, "that if his formula or Rajaji's formula stultified the resolution then they should be educated." To that my answer is I have made my contribution for 21 days and am still making that contribution, and so far as the public is concerned, I hope it will not fall on deaf ears.

Discrediting League

Mr. Gandhi in his statements and interviews has attempted to discredit the League and cause disruption among

Mussalmans. I naturally resent it and he will get his answer.

QAP-F-1011/pp. 35-36 &
The Dawn, October 5, 1944.

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Interview to a Foreign Correspondent regarding Mr.Gandhi's offer, Bombay, October 6, 1944.

"There is only one practical, realistic way of resolving Muslim-Hindu differences. This is to divide India into the two sovereign parts of Pakistan and Hindustan by the recognition of the whole of the North-West Frontier province, Baluchistan, Sind, Punjab, Bengal and Assam as sovereign Muslim territories as they now stand, and for each of us to trust the other to give equitable treatment to Hindu minorities in Pakistan and Muslim minorities in Hindustan, we are prepared to trust 15 million Muslims to them if they will trust us."

This view was expressed to me today by Mr. Jinnah in a two-and-a-half hour conversation on his talks with Mr. Gandhi. "The offer-made to us", said Mr. Jinnah," is an insult to intelligence. I was asked to agree to a plebiscite where Muslims are not in absolute majority. What was meant by absolute majority? I asked Mr. Gandhi. His reply meant that only where we are more than 70 per cent of the entire population should we be given control without a vote.

"In this, he differed from Mr. Rajgopalachari, who said we should accept the legal definition of absolute majority which means 51 per cent of the entire population of an election area, including people who do not vote-not 51 per cent of the poll. A child can see that no party could hope to secure this. So I am asked to agree to a plebiscite which will probably leave a mutilated and unworkable Pakistan. This plebiscite would take

place after the war and after I had agreed to co-operate in an interim National government in which 75 percent of the seats will be held by Hindus.

"It would, therefore, be a Hindu majority government which would, when it becomes a permanent federal government, set up the post-war commission for demarcating frontiers and arranging the plebiscite. I am asked to agree, before the plebiscite and therefore before I know what Pakistan will be, to working arrangements on Defence, Finance, Foreign Affairs, Commerce, Customs, communications, etc. as a condition of our being allowed to have any kind of Pakistan at all, and it will be with a 75 per cent Hindu majority government with which we shall have to agree.

"What should we have left? A Pakistan probably pitted with islands of Hindustan not only on the frontiers but deep within Pakistan territory and further subject to control over most vital matters of this National Government.

"This is not independence. It is a form of Provincial autonomy subject always in the most vital matters to an overwhelmingly Hindu federal authority. So long as Muslims are in minority and they always will be, any such arrangement must leave us dependent on the Hindu majority rule. I asked Mr. Gandhi to define the constitution under which such a federation would work. These are matters of fundamental importance. How could I agree to the scrapping of the present constitution and framing of a new one as a substitute, as proposed by Mr. Gandhi on the basis of a united India and democratic, parliamentary government which would come into operation at once.

"If we agree to this, the question of Pakistan would be shelved to doomsday and practically buried. That is what Mr. Gandhi wanted me to do. 'If you do not give me what I want, says Mr. Gandhi, 'I will reserve the right to resort to mass civil disobedience.'

"I cannot be accused of being pro-British. No Indian

worthy of the name wants foreign domination. But don't you see that if I agreed to join this threat, it could only be my accepting the Congress demands, which are opposed to Pakistan, and if the British government surrendered, Muslim India would be faced not only by Hindu majority rule but a Hindu majority triumphant with British co-operation?

"If Mr. Gandhi does not mean to start civil disobedience, he should say so and withdraw the August resolution. He doesn't withdraw it. He re-emphasises it. The fact is the Hindus want some kind of agreement which will still give them some form of control over Muslims. They will not reconcile themselves to our complete independence.

Fundamental Obstacle

"There was another fundamental obstacle in our way. Mr. Gandhi talked in his personal capacity. I, as the President of the Muslim League, told him, if we agree and my committee rejects the agreement, I am discredited. If your Committee turns you down, you can say I was talking as an individual and you are as you were.

"Mr. Gandhi has also said that the presence of the British impedes our agreement. There are some Britishers who do not want agreement, but there is nothing to prevent us agreeing. we have free minds and souls.

"No power can frustrate our coming to any agreement in ten minutes if the Muslim claim to complete independence is recognised. Then only we shall have true co-operation between Muslims and Hindus. It will be freely given by men who are masters in their own houses and not because one is subject to the domination of another and must, therefore submit to the other's point of view."

The Dawn, October 7,1944.

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Interview to the correspondent of the 'Daily Worker' of London, Bombay, October 14, 1944.

In a two-hour interview the correspondent of the Daily Worker, London, Mr. A.S.R. Chari, got several points cleared by the Quaid-e-Azam about Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah said: "Pakistan will not tolerate any outside design or aggression on this subcontinent. In fact we will vigorously observe something like Monroe Doctrine."

In reply to the request of the correspondent to explain the Pakistan demand to non-Muslim lovers of freedom Mr. Jinnah said: "To understand the Pakistan demand in its full significance it is to be borne in mind that the six provinces, viz. N.W.F.P., Baluchistan, Sind, the Punjab in the North West and Bengal and Assam in the North-East of this sub-continent, have a population of 70 million Muslims and total population of Muslims would not be less than 70 per cent. The rest is composed of Hindus,, tribal people and 'untouchables,

It is in these zones that Muslims wish to establish Pakistan as an independent state."

How is Pakistan the Muslims' demand for freedom? asked the correspondent. Mr. Jinnah replied: "It is the Muslims demand for freedom because Muslims in Pakistan want to be able to establish their own real democratic popular Government. This government will have the sanction of the mass of the population of Pakistan and will function with the will and sanction of the entire body of people in Pakistan irrespective of caste, creed or colour."

Will Pakistan have any neighbourly relations with Hindustan? asked the correspondent again..

Mr. Jinnah said: " Certainly Pakistan will have

neighbourly relations with Hindustan like any other two independent nation states. I have said so several times We will say, 'Hands off India' to all outsiders. Pakistan will not tolerate any outside design or aggression on this subcontinent. We will observe something like Monroe Doctrine." Asked about the British Government's attitude towards his demand, Mr. Jinnah said: "British die-hard ruling class will be more opposed than anybody else to Pakistan materialising, because in my judgment, that is the only way of getting freedom in the quickest and surest way. They know it. In their secret dispatches, statements and documents they have made it clear since India Bill was introduced and when the Crown assumed the Government of India, that when they say United India, they mean perpetuation British Imperialist domination. They have kept us on that line for nearly a century. They try to put 'Hindus and Muslim together artificially and unnaturally dangling in front the idea of Hindu India or united democratic parliamentary Government for India as one national unit.' It is impossible. It is only a manoeuvre to give them ultimately firm ground for saying as they did when enacting the Government of India Act, 1935 that 'we cannot allow progress and welfare of India to be delayed because of your quarrels and we, as chosen of God, have a mission and cannot wait till you agree. Therefore we will enact the constitution and impose it upon the conflicting elements as overlords'. In such a constitution neither Hindus nor Muslims nor any other section of the people will be free or independent."

"There is propaganda by the Government and their agents in the Punjab that you are not interested in the war efforts against the Axis Powers and that these efforts will suffer under the League Ministry in the Punjab," said the correspondent. Mr. Jinnah replied, "It is absolutely untrue; we put no obstacles to war efforts. On the contrary, from the commencement of the war, we repeatedly stated clearly that we wanted no foreign aggression and that we were ready and

willing to defend our homelands and to co-operate in the prosecution of the war. But the British Government have refused our hand of friendship and we have not been able to give our assistance. The British Government have declined to give us real share in the power and authority of the Government. They want us to take all the burden and responsibilities as subservients, while keeping power in their own hands."

"What is your message to the British people?" was another question. Mr. Jinnah said: My message to the British people is that if they are really sincere – and there are many such – they should bring pressure on the British Government to accept the Pakistan principle as the only solution of the constitutional problems of India which means not only freedom of Muslims but of Hindus and other elements in the country too."

The Dawn , October 16,1944.

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Speech at the Party given by the Bombay Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Bombay, October 28, 1944

"Politically the Muslim League is better off than any other organisation in India, "said Mr. Jinnah at a party given in his honour today by the Bombay Muslim Chamber of Commerce. It was all due to the tremendous efforts made by its numerous workers and his colleagues. The Muslims would have been finished politically if the Muslim League had not been started.

Speaking of the Muslims' economic life, Mr. Jinnah

appealed to them to help each other and not to do anything which would harm the community's interests. He appealed to Muslim merchants to work for the collective good of community like the Parsis. "I have been preaching for the last five years that the Muslims should be commercially conscious, and now the efforts of the Muslim League has put some life into the Muslim business community."

To the charge that the Muslim Chamber of Commerce was a "communalist body" Mr. Jinnah said that it was, and would continue to be so. It was of no use to say that Muslims were communalists and Hindus nationalists. "They are Hindu nationalists. It was not surprising that the Hindus are the most exclusive persons in the world. The Muslims are not allowed the go near them economically, socially and educationally. Hindus say we are brothers, but that is only in the ballot-box. But when the ballot-box was opened all Hindus would stand on one side united and the Muslims would be left alone.

He asked the Muslims to work for their legitimate rights and to build up their educational, social and economic life. It would be very helpful in the political field. Without politics we cannot live and exist." Other nation building aspects included the student and youth movement. He referred to the All-India Muslim Students' Federation and said that it was a powerful institution in India. Students were not asked to give up studies for the sake of politics, but they should have political consciousness. Women were the other important factor and he referred to the activities of the All-India Muslim Women's Organisation.

The Dawn, October 30,1944.

686

Address to the members of the League Planning Committee, New Delhi, November 5, 1944.

I thank the Chairman and members of the planning committee for the kind invitation which has been extended to me to attend this morning's sitting.

The Chairman has informed me that some of the members would like to put me some questions. So you can now proceed fairly and frankly to cross-examine me and ask me whatever question you like. I am here at your service.

Speaking on behalf of the Muslim League I should like first of all to explain to you how this committee came to be appointed.

I have had occasion to visit quite a number of places in recent years and wherever I have been, I have found that the Mussalmans are almost at the bottom in the economic life of India. Even in Bombay where about forty years back — I remember the time myself — the Mussalmans held a very big position in the economic life of the city, they have gradually been ousted. In those days if people wanted funds for any good object in any part of India they made a bee-line for Bombay, because they thought that Bombay Muslims were all millionaire. In those days the three communities that held the reins in Bombay's economic life were Muslims, Parsees and Britishers. In the development that has taken place during the last forty years, the biggest sufferer has been the Mussalman. Europeans have been able to hold their own because of certain facilities they enjoy. The Parsees have also suffered but not to the same extent as the Mussalmans. Many cases may be cited to illustrate my remarks but I need not go into details.

Economic Sphere

The Muslim League is mainly a political body but we

cannot separate different departments and keep things like education, social welfare etc. outside our scope. So we had to take up the question of organising the Mussalmans in the economic sphere. I think we can safely claim that we have organised the Mussalmans fairly well politically. There is a great deal to be done yet, but in the field of politics the Muslim League organisation can stand on its own legs and is capable of carrying on its work. In the department of economic life, however we were at the zero point. It is a matter which has been occupying our attention for some time and wherever I went I suggested to the Mussalmans who came to see me, that they should establish a Muslim chamber of commerce at the earliest possible opportunity.

As a result now in almost all important provinces we have got a Muslim Chamber of Commerce and I am very glad that they have decided to combine in a federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce. The Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce has got an office in Delhi and a secretary. The various Chambers of Commerce are affiliated to it. I understand that the federation is going to hold its meeting here towards the end of November or the beginning of December. You will thus see, gentlemen, that we have got the Muslim businessmen on one platform where they can meet and exchange their views as to what is going on and as to what they should do. I can say from my personal knowledge that if today Birla, Purshotam Das, Padámpat or any other business magnate says that he has carefully considered a certain scheme whether an industrial venture or any other enterprise and he wants to put it through he will get the capital required without the slightest difficulty. He has only to say "I have examined this thing and in order to start it I want a capital of two crores", and the money is immediately forthcoming. He has not got to go begging. He has only to get into touch with some fellow-magnates and tell them how much they should put in. One man gives ten lakhs, another

contributes twenty lakh, and so from these people the major part of the capital is furnished. Naturally they have also to get some money form the public, and a company is thus floated. In nine out of ten companies you find the same directors and more or less the same body of persons. It is impossible for you to compete with them individually or singly. Hence this Federation of chambers of commerce. We have suffered in the past and unless we wake up we shall suffer more.

While endeavouring to bring into existence the Muslim Chambers of Commerce we also felt it necessary to appoint a committee of experts to draw up a plan of economic development on a wide and comprehensive basis. The resolution passed by the All-India Muslim League authorising me to appoint the committee is, I confess, not artistically drafted. I must, however, request you to remember that the resolution was drawn up by laymen under very heavy pressure of work. As you may be aware the Muslim League session lasted barely for three days. We meet for two days and on the third day it is difficult to hold people together, and there are so many things that we have to discuss. We have to work therefore under very great pressure and have to sit up till two or three o'clock in the morning. It was under these circumstances that the resolution was drafted by a body of laymen and all that I claim for it is that it gives you the substance and an indication of the purport we had in view.

Industrial Consciousness

It is for you now to go into the whole matter carefully. Speaking as a layman, I feel that one of the results of your deliberations will be in the direction of awakening the Commercial and Industrial consciousness of the Muslims. Your resolutions and proceedings, when you meet, will go to the press and will help in rousing the attention of the Mussalmans. I venture to say that the committee that has been formed is composed of men who would do credit to any people or any

country in the world. Every one of you holds a distinguished position in his own walk of life and I am very glad to have been able to get such a committee together. It took me some months to hunt you out. Experts among the Mussalmans are not many and some of them are in Government service. Among the Mussalmans there are hardly any large concerns controlling really solid and big industry, and in most walks of life the Mussalmans are no where near the fore-front. I therefore consider myself fortunate in having been able to bring you together. The first object, as I have just indicated is to focus the attention of the Mussalmans on matters vitally affecting their economic life. The next thing is that there are many people who are now wide awake and are willing and anxious to strike somewhere. But we hear varying reports about possibilities and potentialities. I am talking particularly of the Pakistan areas. There is not enough literature on the subject and whatever there is has not been put before the public with any authority. There are some people who say that the Pakistan areas are more or less devoid of mineral resources and that economically we shall not be able to exist. Thus the Hindu press keeps on telling us that the Muslims would be the biggest sufferers by the establishment of Pakistan. They would even go further and would like to persuade us that the Pakistan State would be bankrupt. That is one view. On the other hand, there are people who tell us that it is all nonsense and that we have very large deposit of petroleum, coal, iron ore and other minerals in the Pakistan areas. I do not accept one view or the other. All that I can say as a layman is that in my opinion Pakistan will not be bankrupt: it will be a powerful state - though it may not be as rich as Hindustan. It is, however, a matter which should be carefully gone into by a committee of this type. After examining various aspects of the question you will arrive at your own conclusions which will be authoritative. You will indicate the possible lines of development. You will indicate the potentialities of Pakistan areas, and not merely of the Pakistan, but of the

Hindustan areas as well, where thirty million of our co-religionists reside. A report with your seal on it will be something in the nature of a guide. Thirdly, in whatever problems you tackle there is one point which I must request you to keep in mind - and it is this.

No Capitalism

It is not our purpose to make the rich richer and to accelerate the process of the accumulation of wealth in the hands of few individuals. We should aim at levelling up the general standard of living amongst the masses and I hope your committee will pay due attention to this very important question. Our ideal should not be capitalistic but Islamic, and the interests and welfare of the people as a whole should be kept constantly in mind.

Of course, the Muslim League is a political organisation. It does not control the resources of the Government. If we were in charge of Government funds, the Muslim League would be the Muslim Government and then would be in a position to implement your report wholly or in part. The Muslim League can, however, do this. Wherever we have a Muslim League Ministry in power we shall try that your recommendations should be put through wherever possible. Your report will also help in knocking on the head the determined efforts which the present Government of India are making in the direction of the centralising things. They are moving in that direction which means that they are going to reduce the provinces to the position of mere Municipalities. That is the danger we have to guard against.

The Dawn, November 7, 1944.

687

Speech at the inauguration of the Jinnah Football Tournament, Delhi, November 12, 1944.

"The Mussalmans of India are in the process of moulding and are being hammered out to emerge as a strong nation. I am sure when they have passed the present stage, Muslim India as a nation would be much stronger, not only here but also abroad," declared Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, unfurling the flag of Jinnah Football Tournament.

Continuing his short speech, Mr. Jinnah said that he had great pleasure to associate himself with the organisers of the tournament. He remarked that the tournament had its objective and must teach at any rate what was most essential physically, mentally and morally. He asked the Muslims to learn discipline and create a habit of team-work. It was on such occasions he remarked, that young men would learn the lessons of discipline and teamwork which would help them in every walk of their life

The Dawn, November 13,1944.

688

Appeal to the Muslims of Assam to vote for the Muslim League Candidate, New Delhi, November 13, 1944.

I hope that every Mussalman will support and every Muslim voter will vote for Dewan Abdul Basith Choudhary, the League candidate for the Central Assembly in the coming bye-election. His success means the success of the Muslim League, not only in Assam but all over India, and I am confident that, as the custodian of the prestige of the League, you will not allow

our organisation to suffer defeat but do your best to support him solidly and win."

QAP-F-810/p. 198

689

Speech at the Public I'd Reception, Delhi, November 27, 1944

"Every nation, once in its life, has a fall, which consequently is followed by a rise. Muslims in India had been a fallen nation for the last 200 years. Now they have realised it and want to emerge a powerful Nation", Thus observed Quaid-e-Azam M. A. Jinnah.

Mr. Jinnah continued, "A wave of consciousness is spreading all over the Muslim countries of the world and there is a marked change in their method of approach to their political and social problems. What share the Indian Muslims will contribute to this world wide awakening is yet to be seen. Let us do our task in such a way that our coming generations may not be ashamed of our actions".

Earlier Mr. Jinnah said, "The annual sacrifice of Id-uz-Zuha constantly reminds us of the great sacrifice by Hazrat Ibrhaim, who did not hesitate to sacrifice his own son, Hazrat Ismail in the way of God. Hazrat Ibrahim has set an example in human history. Let Muslims follow him and prepare for any sacrifice that may be required for their nation".

The Dawn, November 29, 1944.

690

Statement regarding holding the next Annual Session of the League at Lahore during the Easter week, New Delhi, December 2, 1944.

"The All-India Muslim League Council, at its meeting on the 30th of July 1944 at Lahore, authorized me as the President of the All-India Muslim League to fix a place and date for the next Annual Session. Consequently I approached the various Provincial Muslim Leagues, through their Presidents, to ascertain their views as to where the next Session of the All-India Muslim League should be held this time, and although several Provinces have extended their most cordial invitations, the consensus of opinions is in favour of holding the next Session in the Punjab, at Lahore, and after examining the various opinions that I have received from different parts of India, I have come to the conclusion that on the whole Lahore would be the most suitable venue, and hence I wish to announce that the next Session of the All-India Muslim League will take place at Lahore during the Easter week 1945. The exact date and the programme will be made known in the normal course as soon as possible.

I thank most cordially the various Provinces which had extended their enthusiastic invitations, urging me to hold the Annual Session in those Provinces, and I hope that they will understand that in the best interests of our organization the selection of Lahore is the most suitable."

The Dawn, December 3, 1944,
QAP-F-810/p.197 & F-1022/p. 43.

691

Statement on the talks with Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah, the Premier of Sind, New Delhi, December 5,1944.

"I had a talk with Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Premier of Sind, and Mr. G.M. Syed, President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, in which Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan kindly assisted me at my request, and after full discussion we have come to an understanding. Most of the questions related to internal affairs.

"First the pending by-election in the Sind Assembly. In this connection, the decision of the local Parliamentary Board has not satisfied some of the candidates who were not selected, and they have filed their appeal to the Central Parliamentary Board. The Central Parliamentary Board is a statutory body and is vested with all powers and authority to hear appeals, and finally decide with regard to the selection and adoption of a candidate. This question has already been taken up by this body, and it was not open to us to interfere with its powers. Hence it will be the Central Parliamentary Board, which will finally decide the matter.

"Secondly, differences have arisen with regard to the conduct, and supervision of the forthcoming District and Provincial Muslim League elections, which are likely to take place some time about the end of January or the beginning of February 1945. This matter is within the jurisdiction of another body, and the matter has already been brought to their notice and taken up by them, and therefore we are not entitled to interfere with their jurisdiction and authority. They will finally deal with this question.

"Thirdly, the question of Mr. Roger Thomas' appointment as a Minister was discussed, and we have arrived at certain conclusions, and Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah has

agreed to give effect to them.

"Fourthly, it has been brought to the notice of Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and Mr. Syed that it is not open to the Muslim League Party in the assembly, under our constitution and rules, to enter into any coalition with any other party, without the approval of the Central Parliamentary Board.

"Fifthly, certain matters with regard to the carrying out of certain items of the programme of the Muslim League Party in the assembly were discussed.

"Lastly, the question of corruption that is prevailing in the Sind administration was discussed. This is unfortunately the case not only in Sind but in other provinces also and even Delhi is not free from it. Nevertheless, it was urged upon Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah that he should take immediate steps to put an end to this evil, and, if necessary, to appoint a special officer for this purpose."(A.P.I)

The Dawn, December 6,1944.

692

Message on "Iqbal Day," being celebrated at Lahore, New Delhi, December 8, 1944

"To the cherished memory of our National Poet Iqbal, I pay my homage on this day, which is being celebrated in commemoration of that great poet, sage, philosopher and thinker, and I pray to God Almighty that his soul may rest in eternal peace. Amen!

Though he is not amongst us, his verse, immortal as it is, is always there to guide us and to inspire us. His poetry, besides being beautiful in form and sweet in language, presents to us a picture of the mind and heart of this great poet, and we find how deeply he was devoted to the teachings of Islam. He

was a true and faithful follower of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him), — a Muslim first and a Muslim last. He was the interpreter and voice of Islam.

"Iqbal was not merely a preacher and a philosopher. He stood for courage and action, perseverance and self-reliance, and above all faith in God and devotion to Islam. In his person were combined the idealism of the poet and the realism of the man who takes a practical view of things. Faith in God and unceasing and untiring action is the essence of his message. And in this he emerges truly Islamic. He had an unflinching faith in Islamic principles, and success in life meant to him the realisation of one's 'self', and to achieve this end the only means was to follow the teachings of Islam. His message to humanity is action and realisation of one's self.

"Although a great poet and philosopher he was no less a practical politician. With his firm conviction of and faith in the ideals of Islam, he was one of the few who originally thought over the feasibility of carving out of India such an Islamic state in the North-West and North East Zones which are historical homelands of Muslims.

"I whole-heartedly associate myself with the celebration of this "Iqbal day", and pray that we may live up to the ideals preached by our National Poet so that we may be able to achieve and give a practical shape to these ideals in our sovereign state of Pakistan when established.

The Dawn, December 11,1944.

693

Statement on the affairs of North West Frontier Province, New Delhi, December 12, 1944.

"The Chief Minister of the N.W.F.P. and his colleagues,

the Muslim Ministers, were good enough to come to Delhi and I was glad to meet them. After full examination and review of the situation in the N.W.F.P. both in the Assembly, regarding the Muslim League Party and the Ministers, and with reference to the outside Muslim League organisations, district and provincial, certain lines were chalked out to further and better organise the Muslim League both inside the Legislature and outside.

"There was complete agreement with regard to the various matters that were discussed and unanimous conclusions were arrived at regarding the steps to be taken to give effect to the decisions and I trust that there will be no further delay in implementing them." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, December 13,1944

694

Statement thanking for the messages sent to him on his birthday, Bombay, December 26, 1944.

I have received hundreds of telegrams and letters of good wishes on my birthday, and it is physically impossible for me to reply to them individually. I therefore, through the courtesy of the Press, wish to convey my grateful thanks for their good wishes.

QAP-F-1022/p. 44

1945

695

Statement on the Constitutional position of Sind Ministry and Muslim League Party, Bombay, January 7, 1945.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah replied to communication received from Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and many other prominent Muslim leaders.

The Quaid-e-Azam clarified the various points regarding the by-election for the Sind assembly, forthcoming elections of the Provincial Muslim League, position of the Muslim League Party in the Sind assembly and conditions for entering into any coalition with any group in the assembly.

Mr. Jinnah appealed to the Mussalmans of Sind to work in conformity with the constitution and build up the organisation in harmony, co-operation and unity.

Mr. Jinnah wrote to Sir Ghulam Hussain and informed him about the various points that have been raised, and having regard to the development that were taking place in the Sind Muslim League organisation, as follows:

1. The Delhi statement was issued by me after a clear understanding was arrived at between Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and Mr. G.M. Syed in the presence of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and myself.

2. With regard to the by election for the Sind assembly it is a matter vested in the purview of the local Board, subject to an appeal to the Central Parliamentary Board, and it was not possible for me to interfere with their normal function and their jurisdiction.

3. As regards the forthcoming elections of the Provincial Muslim League and the district Muslim Leagues,

here again all powers to deal with the organisation of the Muslim League are vested in the Committee of Action and it is their function and within their jurisdiction to deal with these matters.

4. As regards the Muslim League Party in the Sind Assembly, Sir Ghulam Hussain is the leader, and so long as he enjoys the Party's confidence, he can, and it is his responsibility to choose his Muslim colleagues in the ministry in such manner as he may think proper, and this position of Sir Ghulam Hussain was recognised by all who were present at the Delhi meeting.

5. That the Muslim League Party cannot enter into any coalition with any group in the Assembly, unless the terms and conditions of such a proposed coalition are approved of by the Central Parliamentary Board.

In the light of these terms that were laid down in complete agreement, it is for the people of Sind now to build up our organisation in harmony, co-operation and unity. I hope that all the leading men in the League organisation will realise that they should work in a team if they really wish to serve the cause and advance the welfare of our people.

The constitution, rules and regulations of the All-India Muslim League and the machinery set up cannot be upset and I regret I am unable to interfere in the normal working of the organisation and the various bodies that are set up to deal with specific matters and vested with powers and authority

I would, therefore once more appeal to the Mussalmans of Sind to loyally work in conformity with our constitution and establish harmony and unity amongst our people

The Dawn, January 8, 1945.

696

Address to Ahmedabad Muslims, Ahmedabad, January 12,1945.

(Mr. Jinnah was taken out in a procession in the evening. The Procession passed through gaily decorated and crowded streets carrying banners with inscriptions such as 'Pakistan is our last struggle." Mr. Jinnah was profusely garlanded and was presented with purses amounting to about Rs.50,000).

Mr. Jinnah addressed the vast assembly thanking the Muslims of Ahmedabad for the love bestowed on him. Exhorting the Muslims to unite under the banner of the League he said "Pakistan is a certainty if we unite. We assure the Hindus Christians and other communities that in fighting for Pakistan we are fighting for the freedom of the whole country." (A.P.I)

The Dawn, January 14,1945.

697

Reply to the civic address presented by the Municipal Committee, Ahmedabad, January 13, 1945

Assuring that the struggle for Pakistan meant no ill-will towards any other community, Quaid-e-Azam M. A. Jinnah, in reply to a civic address presented by the Municipal Committee, emphasised that the achievement of Pakistan could never be without the freedom of the entire sub-continent of India.

He said: Whether we succeed with the co-operation and goodwill of our sister communities or whether we fight alone to the success of Pakistan, it means freedom for all the peoples in

India; this is an aspect which I know many people do not appreciate.

I believe and I am convinced that the quickest and shortest route to India's freedom and the liberty of all the peoples of India lies in our agreeing to the establishment of Pakistan.

One day, perhaps, you will realise that the real opposition and obstacle to my ideal will appear far more strenuously from our rulers than from our sister communities.

Thanking the Municipal Committee for the address presented to him Mr. Jinnah said that with good-will all communities could work harmoniously in various departments of life.

He urged the Municipality to improve the deplorable living conditions and housing of the poor in Ahmedabad upon whose labour and sweat the city is flourishing. Since 1916 the civic amenities in Ahmedabad had been extended and for men with money fasionable suburbs had sprung up but the poor remained poor and they continued to live in the slums.

Referring to the address which prayed for his long life "to bring peace, concord, harmony and unity among all the peoples of this unhappy land," Mr. Jinnah said: "if I can and if I am able to make any contribution to bring about peace, concord and unity, believe me you will not find me lagging behind or hesitating to play my part. But these great things cannot be achieved by one sided effort. It can only be realised by the earnest efforts of all in the light of justice and fairplay to every section of the people of this country."

The Dawn, January 14, 1945.

698

Speech at the fourth session of the Gujerat Muslim Educational Conference, Ahmedabad, January 14, 1945.

Emphasising the importance of education Mr. M. A. Jinnah, who inaugurated the fourth Gujerat Muslim Educational Conference, urged the Muslims that, till a better system of education was evolved and introduced, they should take the fullest possible advantage of the present system of education. He appealed to Muslim youth to take to commercial, technical and scientific education instead of taking degrees in arts or law.

(Mr. Jinnah was given a great ovation as he rose to address).

"I was considered a plague and shunned, he said. But I thrust myself and forced my way through and went from place to place uninvited and unwanted. But now the situation was different. The growth of the Muslim League has been so remarkable that not only our friends but even our opponents admit that it is a mighty All-India organisation. As the President of the League I had numerous duties to perform and had hardly any time to accept invitations. We have reached a stage, he said, when we must direct and galvanise our forces for the purpose of some constructive scheme and ameliorating for educational social and economic uplift of our people.

Before accepting the invitation to come to Ahmedabad, Mr. Ismail Chundrigar, President of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League, told him that the Muslims were trying hard to convert a Middle School into High School. Mr. Jinnah agreed to come if at least Rs.50,000 required for the conversion of the School was collected and he was gratified to know that the collections had reached a total of over Rs. 90,000. He expressed the hope that Gujerat would lead not only the Bombay Province

in the matter of Muslim education but also the rest of India.

Without education it was complete darkness and with education it was light. Education is a matter of life and death to our nation. The world is moving so fast that if you do not educate yourselves you will be not only completely left behind but will be finished up, he said. He urged them to take up the mission of education earnestly and see that every Muslim, man and women gets best possible education that was available. The Holy Prophet had enjoined his followers to go even to China in the pursuit of knowledge. If that was the commandment in those days when communication was difficult, then, truly Muslims, as the true followers of the glorious heritage of Islam, should surely utilise all available opportunities. No sacrifice of time or personal comfort should be regarded too great for the advancement of the cause of education.

Mr. Jinnah hoped that other parts of the Province and the rest of the country would follow the example of Gujerat. A time might come very soon when it would be necessary to co-ordinate and control the activities of the Muslim educational institutions throughout the province under the control of a single board of directorate.

Referring to the unsuitability of the present system of education, Mr. Jinnah said that the All-India Muslim League had appointed a special committee to draft a scheme for the education of Muslims in India. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, January 15, 1945.

699

Speech at a meeting held under the auspices of Ahmedabad Muslim Students' Union, Ahmedabad, January 15, 1945.

Pleading for a dispassionate consideration of the

Pakistan issue, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, addressing a crowded meeting of students, asserted that Pakistan was the only way of cornering John Bull. He denied that the policy and programme of the Muslim League was inimical to Hindu interests. The view that the League's policy was directed towards Pan-Islamism was nothing but a bogey. The struggle for Pakistan was not against the Hindus, but against the British rule. The plea for a united India, Mr. Jinnah said, was the result of British machinations. Whatever you might say the present united India is not held by us, but by machine-guns, he said.

Earlier in his speech, Mr. Jinnah advised the students that their primary duty, both to themselves and their parents, should be prosecution of their studies. But in their long vacations they could render useful social service. Explaining the Pakistan ideal, Mr. Jinnah expressed gratification that there were many non Muslims now who had begun to appreciate it. But there were many also who steeped in prejudice, closed their eyes and ears and minds. There were some who thought that the policy and programme of the League was to enforce a savage rule and set up a savage government in the Pakistan areas, where no non-Muslim would be safe! All that was nothing but an issue of falsehood.

Wrong Road

Mr. Jinnah said that Muslims were convinced by actual experience and knowledge of conditions in the country that it was not possible to have a unitary Government for a united India as a single nation. It is our enemies who have put us on this wrong road. It is the machinations of British statesmen who have put us on this wrong road of a united India and one central government.

The British know better than any one of us that in a democratic form of government for the whole of India we shall never pull together", he said. The demand for Pakistan, he explained, was not because Hindus were vicious or Muslims

were vicious human beings, but it should be admitted that there were fundamental and basic differences between the two peoples.

Hindus and Muslims, Mr. Jinnah continued were not thinking of running a government after the pattern of Akbar, Aurangzeb or Chandragupta, however good they might have been. "We are thinking", he said, "of a popular representative form of government, a government which will have for its sanction the will and trust of the people who are homogeneous and who think they are of one society," He said that it was not possible to have the willing confidence and trust of 100,000,000 Muslims and 250,000,000 Hindus who had fundamental differences.

British statesmen knew this but they put up the plea of a united India because they know that it was the only way by means of which they could prolong and continue their lordship over the entire sub-continent of India. They encouraged the theory of united India knowing fully well that the two would never agree. They are putting the two together, he said, so that they can play the role of arbitrator and mere cut the kind of justice which the monkey dispensed to the two cats. Opposition to Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah said, might be due to false notions or sentiments or because it was a new idea. Some said that it was a hoax and worse still it was a bargaining counter because Mr. Jinnah was an astute politician. He asserted that it was neither a hoax nor a slogan for bargaining. He was concerned only with those areas where Muslims were in majority. One-third of India, he said, was already constitutionally and legally separate from British India. They had their own treaty rights and agreements with the Paramount Power. The issue was only in regard to the rest of India.

Cockpit Of Feuds

By the division of India and the establishment of two governments, Pakistan and Hindustan, Mr. Jinnah said, distrust

would have gone. Otherwise a united India government would always remain a cockpit of feuds. He assured that the minorities in the Hindustan areas would have a fair deal. The government of Pakistan or Hindustan could not be a one-man rule and it could only be based on popular representation and a democratic form of government. Why, therefore, he asked, continue this quarrel which means that we have come to a standstill, or call it a stalemate or deadlock?

When British talk of united India they mean some sort of patchwork, coerce an agreement and temporarily get the Hindus and Muslims together so that they can remain at the top of us.

Concluding Mr. Jinnah cited the example of Ireland which, he said, had more in common with British people than between the Hindus and Muslims, and expressed the hope that Gujerat would not only examine the question of Pakistan carefully but also give a lead to the rest of India.

A voice: "No"

Mr. Jinnah: "Try. You will get your freedom then alone and not otherwise".

The Dawn, January 16,1945.

700

Message to the public meeting organised by Muslims of Hyderabad (Deccan) to celebrate the 68th birthday of Mr. Jinnah, Ahmedabad, January 15, 1945.

Nothing will make me more happy than the Muslims should stand united and work successfully for the social, educational, economic and political uplift of our people wherever they may be. My greatest reward is that I am able to see that our

efforts are bearing fruit and today Muslim India stands united and occupies a position, in this land, of greater self-respect and prestige than ever before during the last two centuries. No power on earth can prevent us from realising the goal of Pakistan if we are united and determined, and I am confident we shall succeed sooner than many people expect.(A.P.I)

The Dawn, January 16,1945.

701

Statement at a press conference Ahmedabad, January 16, 1945.

Acceptance of the fundamentals of the Muslims League's Lahore Resolution (Pakistan Resolution) on the part of the Congress, a modification of the " Quit India" resolution and the rescinding of Jagat Narain Lal's resolution which the A.I.C.C. adopted in May 1942 would lead to the creation of a united front and hasten the achievement of the country's freedom.

There were many sentiments in the "Quit India" resolution with which I whole-heartedly agree and for which many Indians would say "yes", but I am totally opposed to that part of the resolution which was inimical to Muslim interests. For example, Muslims could not agree to the resolution when it stated that the proposed provisional government would evolve a scheme for a Constituent Assembly which would prepare a constitution acceptable to all sections of the people. Muslims were also opposed to the principle that the proposed constitution should be a federal one with the largest measure of autonomy for the federating units with the residuary powers resting in the units. I do not find any other solution to this problem except on the basis of a division of India.

For 25 years Mr. Gandhi had his way. Give me a way for two years and follow me.

Mr. Jinnah explained that when he said "follow me", he did not mean that he wanted to be a leader of all or that he wanted to be a dictator. The first essential development for the attainment of freedom — Pakistan and Hindustan — was united front and in that he would play his part and give his advice.

The crux of the issue is, are you prepared to trust your minorities with us and are we prepared to trust our minorities with you and accept the position that where you are dominant it shall be your dominant government and it shall be our dominant government where we are in a majority?

If you come to see me or I come to see you it does not really matter. I am willing to go anywhere to see Mr. Gandhi. I am willing to go to the poorest man and much more would I go to Mr. Gandhi who is the leader of millions and millions of Hindus. When Mr. Gandhi approached him in 1938, Mr. Jinnah said, he came to secure what he wanted.

Ready To Settle

If I go to him (Gandhi) and ask him to agree to my terms and if he says no, it will not be sensible to criticise him. We are willing and ready to sit down and come to a settlement with the Hindu nation on the basis of a division of India. Otherwise it is not possible to make any progress. It is immaterial whether I go to Mr. Gandhi or he comes to me.

Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah said, could not be established without British domination ceasing. He could not get Pakistan from the Hindus nor could they get Akhand Hindustan from him. It was the British who had got and the only sanction which the Muslims and the Hindus could effect was by a united front. Even when he has agreed, Mr. Jinnah said, it is not going to end there, as a result of the agreement, there will be no quarrel

between us. Then it will be the business of Hindustan and Pakistan to make the rulers disgorge everything so that we will be free and independent to govern ourselves to which they say they are willing.(A.P.I.)

The Dawn, January 17,1945.

702

Speech at a public meeting held in Jamia Masjid, Ahmedabad, January 16, 1945.

"What Mr. Gandhi offered to us was a badly edited version of the Cripps proposal", declared Mr. M. A. Jinnah addressing a mass meeting of Muslims held in the Juma Masjid. While the Cripps proposals conceded the principle of Pakistan by agreeing to have one or more unions in India, Mr. Gandhi offered the same by hedging the offer with many disabilities so that Muslims could not achieve their goal, "he said.

Mr. Jinnah reiterated the League's demand for Pakistan and explained at length its implications and how the achievement of Pakistan would lead to the complete freedom of all India. He said that the Hindus were needlessly frightened of the Muslims' demand and urged them not to be carried away by the statements of highly placed people on the need for a united India.

British and United India

The Viceroy's speech in Calcutta, he said, was a "dope" to the Hindus. The Viceroy did not say that the policy of the British Government was against Pakistan but simply said that he did not consider a major surgical operation necessary. It would be a great mistake to read too much in the "Viceregal spark."

The British conception of a united India was the continuance of their own domination.

Replying to the argument that a body of converts did not constitute a nation, Mr. Jinnah said that it was a fallacy to say that the Hindus and Muslims were one nation. A Hindu who embraced Islam was ostracised and boycotted by his community and he had noting in common with them. It could not be that the Hindu and the Muslim were of one nation in the ballot box only even where three Hindus dominated one Muslim.

Gandhi's Lead to Hindus

Mr.Jinnah, continuing, said that the path along which Mr. Gandhi and the Congress had been traversing for over 25 years now had taken them nowhere. The Muslim League was today saying: "You do not seem to have made any headway. I will now show you the way and take to this path."

Concluding, Mr. Jinnah appealed to the Muslims to stand united and disciplined under the banner of the League.(A.P.I)

The Dawn, January 18,1945.

703

Speech at the meeting of Sir Lallubhai Shah Law College Union, Ahmedabad, January 17, 1945.

"Mr. Jinnah in an address to the Sir Lallubhai Shah Law College Union advised the students that they should maintain the honour, integrity, tradition and the etiquette of the Bar and remember that they belonged to an honourable profession. "Money is not everything and it should not make us depart from our traditions and principles" he said. Success in the

legal profession attended only those who persevered, worked hard, were determined industrious and above all had a natural aptitude to the work.

"Mr. Jinnah referred to his early struggle in the bar, where, he said, after enrolment for three years he got not a single brief. He warned the students that they should be prepared for such disappointments. Instead of wasting their time they should regularly attend the courts and follow cases conducted by their seniors. When he joined the Bar in Bombay, Mr. Jinnah said, there was a powerful body of English Counsels who, coupled with the solicitors system made it impossible for any Indian to break the ring. The position today, however, was entirely different.

Advising the students to strictly conform to the ethics of the profession, Mr. Jinnah said "this is a great profession and not a grocer's shop. You owe an obligation to yourself, your people and the client who pays you. You are not there to squeeze money and bargain." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, January 19, 1945.

704

Statement regarding Liaquat – Desai Agreement, Bombay, January 22, 1945.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in an interview declared: "My attention has been drawn to reports in a section of the press that an agreement has been arrived at between Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan on the one hand on behalf of the Muslim League and Mr. Bhulabhi Desai on the other on behalf of the Congress with the consent of Mr. Gandhi and myself. I know nothing about this. There is absolutely no foundation for connecting my name

with the talks which may have taken place between Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and Mr. Bhulabhai Desai. All I know is that the Nawabzada immediately after his attention was drawn to this wild rumour of his having come to an agreement with Mr. Bhaulabhai Desai characterised it as a "lie and nonsense". I really cannot understand what benefit is expected from publishing this false news by a section of the press as it is doing the greatest possible harm. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, January 23, 1945.

705

Interview to J.S. Cama of the "News Chronicle" (London), Bombay, January 24, 1945.

"There is a large body of people in England who have not yet understood the real problem of India, and Congress propaganda, which is so systematic and heavily financed, is responsible for misleading not only England but also America."

"The first and the foremost question, which very few people yet appreciate, is that Hindu society is so caste-ridden, that democracy is completely foreign and opposed to its very basic and fundamental principles and structure, in everything that matters, namely, the life, conduct and the condition of the people. Hindus, Mr. Gandhi and Congress leaders firmly believe in the graded caste system, which consists not only of the four main castes but numbers of sub-castes among four main castes. 60,000,000 people are considered Sudras or untouchables. The remaining body of Hindus belonging to the other three castes are exclusive of one another and the Brahmin-Bania combination constitutes the worst possible Hindu imperialism; they want to substitute Hindu Imperialism and Hindu Raj for

the British Raj.

"Very few foreigners can understand that 100,000,000 Muslims can never agree to the demands of the Hindu Congress, which will mean that they will be transferred from British Imperialism to Hindu Raj and Hindu Imperialism of the Brahmin-Bania combination, which will have a perenial Hindu castes majority if all India is united and a so-called parliamentary, democratic constitution is introduced in this country.

"If such an attempt succeeded, then 100,000,000 Muslims will revolt, at their being sacrificed and let down by the British Government who will be committing the grossest breach of faith with the Muslims, because of the solemn declarations and pledges which they have given them. Muslims will not be coerced in any way, nor could any constitution be forced upon them by the British Government.

"The Cripps offer, while contemplating two or more dominions, accepted the principle which would give the right to Muslim dominant or Muslim majority provinces, which are Sind, Baluchistan, the N.W.F.P., the Punjab, Bengal and Assam to agree or not to agree to any Union Constitution which the Hindu majority may frame. But the procedure suggested in the Cripps proposals was the most dangerous one for us, because (1) we were to be forced into a constitution-making body of All-India, which was to be set up to frame the Union Constitution.

"The Union Constitution-making body was to consist of ten per cent of the present Provincial Legislatures, where according to the Communal Award, particularly in Bengal and the Punjab, which are the main units of Pakistan, the Muslims are in a minority in each House of Legislature, although according to population they are in a majority. In such a constitution-making body we would be completely swamped, as the Muslim representation would be about 20 per cent and if the

Indian Princes sent in their representatives (most of which are Hindu States), then our proportion of even 20 per cent would be considerably reduced."

(2) The next hurdle was that after the union constitution was framed by this body then the provinces as they are constituted at present in their respective Legislatures, are given what was considered an opportunity to accede to the Union or not, and if 60 per cent of the whole Legislature of a province favoured Union, then the matter terminated. As I have already said, in Bengal and Punjab the Muslims are already in a minority in the whole House, and we are not prepared to submit to the slender and possible chance of our succeeding in the House composed of 250 members in Bengal and 175 in the Punjab, that they should decide the future and the destiny of 100 million Muslims starting in both the Houses with a numerical minority position.

(3) But if perchance 41 per cent were opposed to accession then the matter did not end there, but we were given another hurdle to go through, and that is a mixed and promiscuous plebiscite of all the inhabitants of the Provinces. The demand is not a territorial demand but a Muslim national demand, and the mixed plebiscite was not only unjustified but owing to the powerful organized position of the Hindus and the financial and the Press backing at their command it was a dangerous position for us to accept, and that is why mainly the Cripps offer was rejected by us, we were told that this proposal could not be discussed or modified, and we were presented with this attitude of the powerful British Government, namely "take it or leave it".

"The question whether the Muslims should remain separate from the Hindu majority provinces or not, must be left to their determination as the demand comes from them, and they are, by every definition and by every notion which one can think of, a distinct and separate nation living in the sub-continent. The question is a very simple one when you boil it

down. The Muslims certainly cannot wish to live under the domination of the British for ever and the British have made repeated declarations that they are willing to transfer authority and power of government to the peoples of India. On the assumption that the British domination is to cease in this country we are to have our complete freedom and independence.

"If that be so, then the Muslims cannot agree to the change of masters from the British to the Hindu-Brahmin Imperialist Raj, because it is sure as death that the position will be three votes against one which will mean that one society, distinct and different in every manner and life, with a perennial majority will rule over the other society, whose history, culture and everything that matters in life is totally different from that of the Hindus. Such a Government if set up can only be by force and coercion and will not last even for a few months, and will lead to disastrous results, because it will constitute a cockpit of feuds and conflict regarding the culture, language and notions of civilisations of the two nations, and will affect their vital and fundamental interests.

"There is only one solution to this and no other, and that is, that the Hindus must trust their minorities to the Pakistan Government and we must trust the Hindus with our Muslim minorities, with all such safeguards as possible for any civilised Government to provide for. In that case, there will be stable governments in Pakistan and Hindustan.

"I was amused at the recent pronouncement of the Viceroy at Calcutta at the gathering of the European Chamber of Commerce. This soldier-Viceroy showed signs of shirking his responsibility when he advised us to avoid what he called a major operation of a division of India into Pakistan and Hindustan. I wonder with whose advise or authority he has been creating this confusion. It struck me that he was merely trying to dope the Hindus and thereby was unnecessarily creating hostile feelings and alienating the Muslims.

"Besides, unwise pronouncements like these are contrary to the declared policy of the British Government which has accepted the principle of division and constitution of two or more dominions in response to the unequivocal demand backed up by 99 per cent of Muslim India."

In the end, I must say that if the British Government in any way departs from their solemn declarations and pledges, which they have given from time to time after the outbreak of this war, to the Muslims, and if they make any attempt to sacrifice them or their interests, and let them down in any way whatsoever, in order to appease the Hindu Congress or Hindu leadership, it will be not only the grossest breach of faith, but an act of cowardice on their part. Such a dishonourable move on their part will not succeed, but I am confident that they will force a hundred million Muslims to revolt, as even a worm turns, and for the consequences that may follow the British Government will be responsible.

QAP-File-810/pp. 186-189

706

Comments made on Beverly Nichols' Book "Verdict on India" during his interview with J.S. Cama of the "News Chronical" (London), Bombay, January 24, 1945.

"I have read the book written by Mr. Beverly Nichols, namely "*The Verdict on India*". When he first came to see me, he was all for the Hindu Congress, because he was utterly ignorant of the Muslim point of view, owing to the powerful and false propaganda which the Congress was conducting in England and America. But when he had travelled all over the different parts of India and had met various peoples, and had got the knowledge and information of the real problem, and when he came to see

me a second time, he was considerably shaken in his original views. But when he came to me for the third time, he was honestly convinced that the only solution was in division of India, on the basis of Pakistan and Hindustan. On most of the subjects, Mr. Beverly Nichols has spoken out boldly and fearlessly, and what he has stated is substantially true, but truth is always bitter, but in fact his is really an impartial verdict. But the party that is exposed in all its nakedness, naturally must be furious, and all sort of attempts have been made to discredit what is substantially a true verdict given by a bold and fearless journalist. Perhaps it has added to the greater annoyance and irritation of the Hindus because he has not hesitated to call a spade a spade. But we have reached a stage, when it will be a folly and a disaster, if the realities and true conditions of India, and the real problem of India is not put before all those who are concerned in the plainest possible language; and I think that Mr. Nichols has made a great contribution in stating the truth, and exposing the falsehood and hypocrisy as well as the false propaganda which has been carried on by the powerful and financial backing which the Hindu Congress commands from a large body of Hindu capitalists and industrialists, who have their axe to grind, as it is acknowledged by Mr. Gandhi, that his most willing donors and supporters are the Hindu capitalists."

QAP-F-810/p.185.

707

Statement on the Sind Ministerial situation, Bombay, January 30, 1945.

"I was glad to see Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur and Mr. Yusuf Abdulla Haroon. This meeting was arranged in consequence of the correspondence between me and the Premier

of Sind long before Mr. Mohd. Isa was deputed to Karachi by the Committee of Action with my approval. I have had a talk with them and as a result I wish to issue the following statement:

"As regards the Provincial Muslim League elections, as I have already said it is the function of the Committee of Action to deal with these matters and I am glad that they have deputed Mr. M. Isa to go to Karachi and it is for him now to see that elections are controlled, managed and conducted in a fair and proper way.

"As regards the Ministry it is for the Muslim League Party in the Assembly and the leader in the ordinary course to manage and regulate and I have already made it clear that any coalition with non-Muslims that the Premier may deem necessary or desirable can be brought into effect, provided it is approved of by the Central Parliamentary Board.

"Any disruption amongst our ranks and file will be disastrous and those who are not prepared to forget and close their differences will be playing in the hands of our opponents at this critical moment.

"We must shed all personal quarrels and stand solid and united for the organisation to which we belong and the issues for which we are carrying on this great struggle of life and death. I am sure that Sind will rise and fully respond to my fervent appeal and thereby play its most vital and important part in the achievement of our goal of Pakistan.

In the end I wish Mr. Isa every success in his mission. (A.P.I.)

QAP-File. 1020/p. 1 &
The Dawn, January 31, 1945.

708

Message to the Editor, "Muslim Views", Colombo (Ceylon) on the occasion of the Holy Prophet's Birthday, Bombay, February 5, 1945.

"You ask me to give you a message on the occasion of the birthday of the Holy Prophet. What message can I give you today, save that every Muslim throughout the world should live up to the best traditions of Islam, the faith which came to us through the Holy Prophet (peace be upon his soul).

"Islam came in the world to establish democracy, peace and justice; to safeguard the rights of the oppressed. It brought to humanity the message of equality of the rich and the poor, of the high and the low. The Holy Prophet fought for these ideals for the major part of his life. Is it not, therefore, the duty of every Muslim, wherever he may be, to do his level best to preserve the great ideals and the glorious traditions of Islam, to fight for the equality of mankind, the achievement of man's legitimate rights, and the establishment of democracy? We in India believe that Pakistan is our legitimate demand, our birthright. We believe that it is in consonance with democratic principles and justice. We are, therefore, determined to fight for it and *Insha Allah* we shall win."

709

Appeal to the Sind Muslim League leaders to end all differences, Bombay, February 12, 1945.

"I was glad to meet Mr. Syed and have had a long talk

with him regarding the Sind situation and recent political developments there. Again I appeal to leaders of Muslim League in Sind and in particular to Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and Mr. G.M. Syed to end all differences and controversies that have arisen recently and maintain solidarity and unity among all sections of Muslim League at this critical juncture. I make this appeal in the name of our cause and for the faith of carrying on our struggle which is a matter of life and death and which lies in our front to achieve and realize, our cherished goal of Pakistan.

Annual Elections

I am glad that matter of the ensuing annual Provincial League elections has been satisfactorily arranged between Mr. Syed the President and the Working Committee of the Sind Provincial Muslim League in accordance with the advise and suggestions made by Qazi Muhammad Isa who was deputed to go to Sind for this purpose by the Committee of Action. If this arrangement is carried out — and I am sure it will be — then I feel it will ensure fair and proper elections to the satisfaction of our people." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, February 13, 1945.

710

Telegrams to Mr. G.M. Syed, Bombay, February 28, 1945.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah President of the All India Muslim League has sent a strongly worded telegram to Mr. G.M. Syed, President of the Sind Muslim League, denouncing his action in "letting down his leader and party." This is revealed in telegraphic correspondence between him and Mr. Syed that Mr. Jinnah released to the Press.

Mr. Jinnah's telegram to Mr. Syed reads:

"Your telegram of the 24th and 27th. Regret to say that, on your own admission, you have adopted unconstitutional methods, have lent yourself to unworthy intrigues, playing into the hands of enemies, have let down your leader and party to which you belonged, thereby you have already damaged our cause and the prestige of the Muslim League. You have precipitated crises, have broken party discipline, caused a split, shaken the solidarity of Sind Muslims, notwithstanding your assurance to me at the conclusion of our Bombay talks and against my advice.

"You have ignored the Committee of Action, the Central Parliamentary Board, the League Machinery, the Constitution, the Rules and Regulations, through and by means of which you could have secured full redress of any just grievance, but, instead, you have wrongly restored to methods which are calculated to undermine the basic structure of the League organisation, its aims and objects. This course of action on your part is highly improper, detrimental to Muslim interests and to the Muslim League. It is futile to give advice and instructions any more. — Jinnah."

Text of Telegrams

Mr. Syed's telegrams to which the above was a reply were as follows:- Dated Karachi 24th to Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah, Bombay: "Fifteen out of total 28 members of Muslim League Assembly Party made an urgent written demand under their signatures last night that the present ministry should be thrown out during current session, the effort to break it to begin from today. In pursuance of their decision,...they throw out supplementary demand under general administration and supported cut motion. In division 14 Muslim League members supported cut motion and 11 Muslim League members opposed. — G.M. Syed".

Dated Karachi 27th to Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah, Bombay;

"Respectfully invite reference to my telegram of 24th giving details. Sir Ghulam Hussain has published that you authorised my and Mr. Gazdar's expulsion. This has caused deflection. The Hindu Party is still solid and true with me and the Muslim League. After the vote, Khan Bahadur Moulabux pressed for a coalition, which I could not agree to and rejected it. Subsequently Sir Ghualm Hussain Hidayatullah formed a coalition with the Azad Muslim Party and took Khan Bahadur Moulabux in the Cabinet. A letter was passed by Sir Ghulam Hussain inviting Khan Bahadur Moulabux to form a coalition and he promised to take another Azad Party member also as a minister. Sir Ghulam Hussain is gaining time and spreading a rumor that he getting the sanction of the Parliamentary Board. Kindly clarify the League attitude immediately. Kindly talk on the phone number 7651 if necessary. Anxiously awaiting early instructions. — G.M. Syed. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, March 1, 1945.

711

Message on Pakistan Day, New Dehli, March 22, 1945.

"Today is the fifth anniversary of our solemn declaration that was made in the open session of the All-India Muslim League at Lahore on March 23, 1940, defining once for all our national goal of Pakistan. This is our irrevocable and unalterable national demand. Muslim India will not rest content till we have fully realised, achieved and established Pakistan in the north-western and eastern zones of this sub-continent. It is, as you know, a struggle of life and death for Muslim India.

"In Pakistan lies our deliverance, defence and honour. If we fail, we perish and there will be no sign or symptom of Muslims or Islam left in this sub-continent. This is the stupendous task that you have in front of you. Therefore, I appeal again on this our national day to organise yourselves in every department of life and rally round the banner of the All-India Muslim League.

"In our solidarity, unity and discipline lie the strength, power and sanction behind us to carry on this fight successfully. No sacrifice should be considered too great. We shall never accept any future constitution on the basis of a united India.

"I see powers working around us and our enemies are active; but let us go forward undaunted, fearless, without faltering. I have sufficient information from all parts of India and I have my finger on the pulse of Muslim India, and feel confident that ten crore Mussalmans will stand as one man at any critical moment, and will not hesitate to make every sacrifice, if we are to be thwarted, ignored or by-passed by those in power in this land or any party or organisation.

"I am confident that Pakistan is within our grasp. It is already there in action and it is by our efforts in those provinces of ours like Sind, Baluchistan, North-West Frontier, Punjab, Bengal and Assam to seize all the power that is available to us at present and it is open for us to do so. If the Muslims stand united and give up their personal quarrels for the sake of our sacred and noble cause, I have no doubt in my mind that these present can be fully and effectively captured by us even under the present Constitution such as it is. I know that intrigues recently shook the Muslim League Ministry in Sind. That was entirely due to want of solidarity and unity among the Mussalmans.

"I knew that for similar reasons, in the North-West Frontier Province, the Muslim League Ministry was defeated

and the Congress Muslims, under orders from Wardha, have accepted office throwing away all their fundamental principles to the four winds. It was recently announced by a Congress leader, after his interview with Mr. Gandhi, that it was one to put down the Muslim "fanticism" and establish fully the influence of the Congress over the North-West Frontier Province.

"It is not possible to believe that any Mussalman, who has got the slightest of self-respect and an iota of pride left in him, can tolerate a Ministry in a Muslim majority province, which takes order from and is subject to the control of Mr. Gandhi at Sevagram or the Congress who are deadly opponents to all Muslim aspirations and their national demands. This is a blot on the fair name of the province and I appeal to every Mussalman in the North-West Frontier Province to organise the League and remove this blot. Of course, the fall of the Ministry or the establishment of a Muslim League Ministry, is not all. It is only a means to an end.

"Let me now warn and caution every province that they should from now begin to systematically organise themselves.

New elections may take place sooner or later under the present constitution and they may come upon us sooner than we imagine, and therefore from now onwards, I urge upon the Committee of Action, the Central Parliamentary Board and all the Provincial Muslim Leagues immediately to get ready for this coming fight, that we have to face.

These elections and their results will be one of the important criterions by which the strength and the power of the All-India Muslim League will be judged not only in this country, but specially abroad.

Solemn Oath

I therefore most fervently appeal to you that on this national day, reaffirm your solemn declaration for Pakistan, and on your honour pledge yourselves, man, woman and child, to

come under the banner of the Muslim League, and take a solemn oath that you should not falter or fall to make all sacrifices for the establishment and achievement of our national goal of Pakistan. *Insha-Allah*, we shall win. (A.P.I.)

QAP-File 1020/pp. 2-3 &
The Dawn, March 23, 1945.

712

Press Statement on the Sapru Conciliation Committee's cable to Lord Wavell, New Delhi, April 2, 1945.

"My attention has been drawn to the press report of the cable sent by the so-called Sapru Conciliation Committee to Lord Wavell, who is now in London.

"Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and his associates have been passing off under different labels from time to time. First as 'All-Party Conference' then as 'No-Party Conference' and now they have assumed the label of Conciliation Committee' They are nothing but the handmaids of the Congress and have played, and are playing, to the tune of Mr. Gandhi.

"Their pompous and pious profession that they are detached and independent body of men is utterly false, and this is clear from their previous activities and resolutions and from the character and the nature of the present resolution they have passed conveying their proposals to Lord Wavell.

"Two alternatives are offered. If either of them is accepted, the Muslim aspirations and their national demand of Pakistan would be torpedoed by this subtle and flanking movement.

"Muslim India will not accept any attempt to change the

present constitution in any way which would directly or indirectly be on the basis of a united India. The question of Pakistan is the first and the foremost issue to be decided preliminary to any consideration of the framing of any future constitution.

"Any attempt which militates against, prejudices or torpedoes the Pakistan demand, directly or indirectly, if countenanced by the British Government, will be at the sacrifice, and betrayal of the 100 million Mussalmans of this land.

"I am confident that having regard to the solemn declarations of His Majesty's Government and the pledges and assurances given to the Muslims they will not go back as an honourable nation and coerce the Mussalmans or force or impose upon them a constitution against their will and without their approval and consent.

"If the British Government are stampeded into any departure from, or reversal of, their declared policy by some undue pressure — which I do hope will not be the case — I shall be failing in my duty, having regard to the temper, determination and the deep feelings of Muslim India regarding this issue, if I did not draw the attention of Britain to the disastrous consequences it may lead to for which the British Government alone will be responsible." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, April 3, 1945.

713

Statement on the situation resulting from his illness, New Delhi, April 9, 1945.

"I am extremely thankful to all those who made kind enquiries and shown deep concern about my health during my

recent indisposition. My only excuse for not writing to them all personally is that they are so numerous that it is physically impossible to do so, and I hope I shall be excused for expressing my gratitude to them through the courtesy of the Press for their anxiety and sympathy for me during my recent illness.

"I owe it to the public and my colleagues and co-workers of the All-India Muslim League that I should inform and reassure them in my own words that I have had, during the course of last year, more than one breakdown owing to nothing else but to overwork and great pressure and anxiety in the discharge of my duties and responsibilities as the President of the All-India Muslim League organisation, which is growing so fast and so vastly. But this last breakdown was the severest and a grave warning of nature, and I am strictly advised by my doctors, and I agree with them to have complete rest for at least the next three months.

Result of over-work

"As there are various rumours of all sorts about my health, let me assure you all that there is nothing organically wrong with me nor do I suffer from any complaint, malady or disease of any kind. I am perfectly strong and healthy constitutionally. I am only suffering from the overwork and the strain through which I have had to go, and the only remedy for it is complete rest. I am extremely sorry and deeply disappointed that I was unable to stand the strain of the session of the All-India Muslim League at Lahore fixed for 30th March, 1945, and hence though the will was there, the flesh refused to work. I was unable to attend nor can I do so in the near future and I have intimated to Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, Secretary, All-India Muslim League and the Nawab of Mamdot, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, to the effect.

"However, I am happy to say that now the All-India Muslim League organisation is fully established and is going

ahead from strength to strength and those who think otherwise are under a great delusion and in some quarters it is only wishful thinking. Our machinery is now put on sound frame. First, there is the Committee of Action, secondly there is the Central Parliamentary Board. These two bodies are set up and vested with powers to carry on all the activities of the Muslim League both outside and within the Legislatures. There are the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League.

Appeal to People

"For the moment I am not to be on the list of our workers and our soldiers, but I shall always be at the disposal of our people in case of emergency or if necessary for consultation and advice, wherever I might be for a short period of my rest. But during this period I shall not be able to undertake any public engagement or active work or grant interviews, and I earnestly appeal to our people not to disturb me, but if there is anything important they can always approach Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan or Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan, the Chairman of the Committee of Action, and the members of the Parliamentary Board. If any one of them thinks it necessary they would be welcome to see me and ascertain my views or advice.

"In conclusion, I appeal to the office-bearers of the District and Provincial League and our people not to have any demonstration or arrange any reception, either on the way or at any of the stations or anywhere else, as in my present condition of health I am unable to stand any strain. I am leaving Delhi on the 11th for Bombay and within a few days I hope to go to small hill station near by, known as Matheran, and propose to stay there till about the middle of June. My further programme is not yet fixed." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, April 10, 1945.

714

Statement about his alleged correspondence with Mr. Amery, Matheran, May 12, 1945.

In a statement to the Press, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, characterises the correspondence alleged by a Bombay newspaper report to have been carried on by him with Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India as "a pure fabrication."

The following is the full text of the statement:

"My attention has been drawn to the publication of the alleged letters between me and Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, by a Bombay Gujrati daily, "*Matribhoomi*," and reproduced in some other newspapers including English. This correspondence is a pure fabrication. No such correspondence or any other communication has taken place between me and Mr. Amery prior to my meeting Mr. Gandhi from Srinagar or on July 24 last year as alleged, or at any other time thereafter. This report is absolutely untrue and without any foundation whatsoever."

The Eastern Times, May 13, 1945.

715

Speech at the prize distribution ceremony of Matheran Muslim School, Matheran May 21, 1945.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah called upon the Muslims of India to make redoubled their efforts to remove the educational backwardness of the community to keep it abreast of other nations in the matter of educational progress. Mr. Jinnah, who was speaking at the prize distribution ceremony at the Matheran

Muslim School, said that education was the very basis of a stable national existence. On it depended the future of a nation, and without enlightenment everything would be dark. Muslims, said Mr. Jinnah, could go on repeating their grievances that they were not represented adequately in the various services, and he admitted that there were many cases of injustice done to the community, but mere empty repetition of the grievances would not take the Muslims anywhere. We should educate the Muslim nation and if we have a band of talented and efficient educators, I am certain that they will, even against odds, find their due level.

In a word to the wealthy members of the community Mr. Jinnah said, "You have made fortunes. You do not mind paying taxes to the Government. I want you to loosen your purses for the nation. You must stand by your people."

Mr. Jinnah added that now his only vocation or profession in life was to enquire, wherever he went, into the conditions of the Muslims and to rouse them to the need for national improvement. He called upon the Muslims to built up their nation and to work for it. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, May 22, 1945.

716

Message to the Conference of the Muslim Students of Masulipatam District, Matheran, May 23, 1945.

I am glad to know that the first conference of the Muslim students of Masulipatam District is being held shortly and I congratulate the Muslim Students Federation for having organized this conference and do hope that their efforts will be crowned with success.

"I have always held that Muslim students can, without neglecting their studies, do a lot in their own way towards the social, political, educational and economic uplift of our people. It is high time that Muslim young men and students realize that at this time all our efforts should be directed towards preparing ourselves for the struggle for freedom - freedom for all through Pakistan - which lies ahead of us. Freedom is priceless; and it cannot be measured in terms of value and no sacrifice is too great to achieve it. And it is this reality which you should bear in mind and train yourself so as to face the struggle of life boldly and manfully with confidence and courage when the responsibility falls upon your shoulders. March on with your motto: Unity, Faith and Discipline; and *inshallah* we shall attain Pakistan."

QAP-F-1022/p.46

717

Statement to the press asking for clarification of Labour Party's Policy on Palestine, Matheran, May 25, 1945.

Declaring that Labour party's policy regarding Palestine as explained by Dr. Hugh Dalton would be a breach of faith with the Mussalmans of India, Mr. M. A. Jinnah calls upon the Labour party leader, Mr. C.R. Attlee, to clarify without delay the official Labour party's policy on this question. Mr. Jinnah says:-

"My attention has been drawn to the pronouncement made by Dr. Hugh Dalton, President of the Board of trade and prospective foreign minister in the labour administration. He is reported to have said as follows: — (1) That he is strongly opposed to the present policy of Mr. Churchill's Government regarding Palestine. (2) that the Labour party considers it

morally wrong and politically undesirable that any Jew wanting to go to Palestine should be hampered from doing so. (3) that Jewish emigration into Palestine should be fully encouraged and assisted. (4) that they want close agreement between the United States, Russia and Great Britain in common support for a happy, prosperous and free Jewish state in Palestine.

"This announcement, purporting to be made on behalf of the Labour party has shocked Muslim India and has already created the deepest resentment against it and I do hope that this is not really the authorised official Labour party policy with regard to Palestine and that it should be clarified without delay by the Labour party leader, Mr. C.R. Attlee on behalf of the party.

Historically Unjust

"This pronouncement is totally opposed to every principle of morality and is historically unjust and politically it would be a folly and a blunder to pursue it.

"Without my going into the dark pages of the history of the relationship between Britain and the Arabs of Palestine and the grave wrong that has already been done to their sovereign status and the legitimate aspirations of the Arabs, I would like to point out that Dr. Dalton's pronouncement is opposed even to the latest pledge given by the ex-viceroy of India, Lord Linlithgow, to the Muslims of India on behalf of His Majesty's Government in his letter addressed to me as President of the All-India Muslim League dated June 21, 1940. Lord Linlithgow wound up his letter as follows:-

"Finally I would invite your attention to the measures so far taken to implement the policy laid down in the White Paper of May 1939, namely regulation of Jewish emigration since April 1939 in accordance with the provisions of the White Paper and the enactment of legislation last February with which you will be familiar from the references in the press and which was

embodied in command paper 6180 controlling the transfer of land in the interests of Arab agriculturists. You may rest assured that every consideration has been and will continue to be given by His Majesty's Government to legitimate Arab claims."

Dr. Hugh Dalton cannot be ignorant of this assurance given on behalf of His Majesty's Government and the British Parliament as laid down in the White Paper.

Breach of Assurance

If Britain goes back even on this plighted word of hers which is the barest justice done to the Arabs, it will be against the deepest sentiments and views of the Muslims of the world, and it will constitute a breach of the solemn assurance given to Mussalmans of India whose sympathy and support were secured for the prosecution of the war on the faith of this promise.

How can Dr. Dalton with any conscience put forward this monstrous adumbration of policy on behalf of the great Labour party and maintain it on any principle of morality and on political grounds consistent with justice and fairplay or with the honour of Great Britain? It is too dangerous a game to play as a bait to get the support and vote-catching of the Jews for electioneering purposes. For it will certainly alienate and exasperate the Muslim world and lead to most disastrous consequences.

I also hope that Mr Churchill's Government and the people of Great Britain will not betray the Arabs of Palestine and not be a party to a breach of the solemn assurance given to the Mussalmans of India."(A.P.I.)

The Dawn, May 27, 1945.

718

Statement on the situation in Syria and Lebanon, Matheran, June 3, 1945.

"Apart from history regarding the relations between France and Syria and Lebanon under the guise of Mandate and Mandatory power — which was morally and politically wrong and unjust and a breach of promise made to them during the last war, — coming to recent events in 1941, to avert the German onslaught which was imminent, the French Government through General Catroux gave an unequivocal pledge of independence to Syria and Lebanon in June 1941 and he made a declaration to that effect and said: 'I come to put an end to the mandatory regime and proclaim you free and independent.' And this pledge was endorsed by Great Britain and recognised by the United States Government in letters of credence issued to their first diplomatic agent in Syria.

"France, that was prostrate and under the heels of German High Command and recently freed and liberated by others in November 1943, through the French High Commissioner vetoed the new constitution sponsored by the Lebanese Government and arrested the Premier and Ministers supporting it. It was then due to the intervention of the British Government, which declared its determination to stand by the 1941 promise of the Allies of Syrian independence that, proved a decisive factor in the restoration of peace and order.

De Gaulle Should be Dealt With As War Criminal

"Now again, we are witnessing a horrible and brutal tragedy which has resulted in an enormous amount of bloodshed and destruction of property already, if the reports are correct. General de Gaulle and his colleagues and those responsible for these brutal, wanton and reckless methods should be dealt with in the same way as the war criminals, for the peace criminals are as dangerous if not more. To negotiate or come to an

understanding with these two States by means of not only a show of force and reinforcing the French army by sending Senegals but actually bombing and using tanks and other modern weapons, which General de Gaulle has secured with the liberation of his country by the help and efforts of the United Nations, is not creditable to the French people or the nation that they represent and is opposed to every principle for which this war has been fought and it is an indelible slur on any civilised government. I hope the conscience of the French people will revolt against it and General de Gaulle and his colleagues will be sacked from their high position as representatives of French nation.

Algiers Tragedy

"A similar tragedy is being enacted in Algiers and if reports are correct, 10,000 Arabs have been killed and wounded as a result of bombs. This is a state of things which Muslim India cannot look on with equanimity nor can it be tolerated by any civilised people.

"I am glad that Great Britain and America have intervened and given an ultimatum to General de Gaulle to cease fire and withdraw the troops to their barracks. But this is not enough.

"Although the intervention might have been earlier and more timely and in that case the loss of life and property would have been saved. France must be asked to withdraw completely and so must Britain and other foreign forces from Syria. According to the solemn principles for which this war has been fought, negotiations and understanding may be brought about between Syria and Lebanon and other powers on a footing of equality and freedom. If might is going to be right, then this war has been fought for nothing and millions have died in vain. It seems that General de Gaulle and his associates have learnt nothing, although not long ago France was lying prostrate with gaping wounds under the Nazi regime for nearly four years and

in spite of its boasted motto of equality, fraternity and liberty has not yet dropped the role of an imperialistic republic and lust to exploit other countries and other people. They have forgotten their own Christian commandment, 'Do unto others what you would have done to you.'

Appeal to Arab League

"On behalf of the Mussalmans of India I whole-heartedly and deeply sympathise with the people of Syria and Lebanon and those who have suffered for their nation and I hope the Arab League, which meets on June 4, will accord their complete and whole-hearted support to Syria and Lebanon and resist any attempt or terms that may be suggested by France or anybody else which are calculated to be detrimental to the sovereignty or the interests of these two states and that they would resist any such attempt at all costs.

"The hundred million Muslims of India will not fail to do all that lies in their power. They stand by the Arab League Council and the people of the Syria and Lebanon. Already Muslim India is deeply stirred and stunned at this brutal and inhuman conduct on the part of General de Gaulle and those who are responsible for the bloodshed and destruction of life and property. Not only the Middle East and Muslim India but the whole of the Muslim world will flare up if the solemn pledges, promises and declarations are not immediately and effectively carried out and complete freedom given to Syria and Lebanon."(A.P.I.)

QAP-F-1022/pp.47-49 &
The Dawn, June 4, 1945.

719

Message to the Frontier Muslim Students Federation Conference (Peshawar), Matheran, June 15, 1945.

I have often made it clear that if Musalmans wish to live as honourable and respectable people there is only one course open to them: fight for Pakistan, live for Pakistan, and, if necessary, die for the achievement of Pakistan, or else Muslims and Islam are doomed.

There is only one course open to us: to organise our nation. And it is by our own dint of arduous and sustained and determined efforts that we can create strength and support our people not only to achieve our freedom and independence but to be able to maintain it and live according to Islamic ideals and principles.

Pakistan not only means freedom and independence but the Muslim ideology, which has to be preserved, which has come to us as a precious gift and treasure and which, we hope, others will share with us.

In regeneration and reconstructing the Muslim nation, young men must necessarily play an important part and I sincerely pray that you will make your full contribution but without neglecting or unnecessarily wasting your time and opportunities of availing yourself of all that scholastic career offers you and demands of you. You have to do a lot and I am sure you will not fail. I whole-heartedly wish you God-speed and full success to your session. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, June 19, 1945.

720

Statement regarding telegrams passed between him and Lord Wavell, Bombay, June 15, 1945.

Mr. Jinnah was asked again to-day, whether he had anything to say about the recent announcement made by H.E. Lord Wavell and Mr. Jinnah informs the Press that the following telegrams have passed between Lord Wavell and him:-

Telegram from Lord Wavell, dated New Delhi, June 14th:-

"You may have heard my Broadcast this evening. The text and that of the Secretary of States' simultaneous announcement in parliament will appear in newspapers tomorrow. I hope you will agree to attend the conference which I have proposed. I have suggested eleven a.m. on twentyfifth June at Viceregal Lodge Simla for the first meetings. If you accept my invitation I should welcome a discussion with you before the opening of the conference and suggest subject to your convenience five p.m. on the twentyfourth June at Viceregal Lodge Simla. I have had accommodation reserved for you at the Cecil Hotel in the hope that you will accept. - Viceroy."

Telegram from Mr. Jinnah to H.E. Lord Wavell, dated 15th June:-

"Your invitation fourteenth. Shall be glad meet you twentyfourth for discussion but as regards your proposals particularly conference require clarification which I hope will be available our meeting twentyfourth. This will enable me consult my working committee in the light of such clarifications and decide upon our course of action. May I request you therefore postpone date conference for a fortnight as the time fixed is too short for meeting working committee members all over India. I reciprocate your appeal for co-operation and goodwill and hope that Muslim League will make its contribution to any just and

reasonable interim provisional settlement. Please Reply. Jinnah.:

QAP-F-810/p.166.

721

Message to the Weekly "Saadat" (Lyallpur), Matheran, May 7, 1945.

"I have learnt that the weekly *Saadat* is bringing out a special number under the supervision of the Nazim-Ala, Muslim National Guards, Punjab, which will be dedicated to the Muslim National Guards Organization in the Province.

Muslim India should know by now, more than anybody else, that Pakistan can be achieved only by our own inherent strength - the strength of our unity, organization, discipline and character. No nation can ever be free or maintain its free existence, so long as its organization was corrupt, when its discipline was week and when the people were demoralized. It is the attainment and development of these qualities which make a nation healthy and strong. Without perseverance, fortitude and readiness for sacrifice we cannot even dream of coming out of this struggle of life and death with success. Without strong organization and discipline our defences are liable to give way - and if that happens, God forbidding, there is no hope for the hundred million Musalmans in this vast sub-continent. But I am glad that the Musalmans now realize this grave reality and I am confident that victory will be ours and Inshaallah we shall have Pakistan. But as I see our opponents are moving heaven and earth to deprive us of the very birth-right of self-determination and our independent existence, I would therefore, once more, caution to Musalmans to beware and get ready for any eventuality that may arise. Our past history, our glorious

tradition and the very spirit of Islam revolt against the idea of our being slaves to Caste-Hindu Ram Raj or foreign domination and our freedom truly lies in the establishment of Pakistan alone. Freedom means a great responsibility and it is this heavy burden of responsibility which I call upon the Muslim youth of India particularly to come forward and take up with courage and confidence and fully qualify themselves for it.

The Muslim National Guards organization is already working all over India but it needs to be further strengthened and consolidated for the defence of our honour, our homes and hearths, our life and property and for the service of the mankind with which essential aim it was originally formed.

I am confident that the Muslim youth and especially the Muslim youngmen of the Punjab - the swordarm of Pakistan - will rally round the banner of the National Guards Organization in greater numbers with service to humanity as their aim and for the defence of our place under the Sun, where we can live with honour and peace. Let your motto be "Unity, faith and discipline".

I wish all success to the Special number of the *SAADAT* and the efforts of the Muslim National Guards organisers in the Punjab and I am confident that we shall successfully march to our cherished goal of Pakistan and before long achieve and establish it."

QAP-F-579/pp 103-104 &

The Weekly Saadat, June 22, 1945.

722

Statement made to the Press correspondents on Wavell proposals, Simla, June 29, 1945.

"The Congress on any important matter will be safely entitled to count on the support of the Scheduled castes and the Sikhs. We are willing to make full contribution to any just and reasonable settlement. The Congress has already claimed the right to choose members from the Muslim block and some other party or parties may make similar claims. While we have every desire to find a solution, this is a point, namely, that the Congress or any other body should be entitled to choose a Muslim from the Muslim bloc which we cannot accept either on principle or on facts as they are before us.

"I want to give you a little background. Firstly, the Muslim League passed its resolution in Delhi in March, 1943, and there we formulated our demand. The demand was that we were always ready to consider any proposals or to negotiate with any party on the basis of equality of representation on the provisional Central Government. At the time the party meant was the Congress—provided the British Government made a declaration guaranteeing to the Musalmans the right of self-determination and undertaking to abide by the verdict of Musalmans to give effect to the Pakistan scheme in accordance with the principles outlined in the Lahore Resolution of the All-India Muslim League in 1940.

"The Wavell proposals do not concede or accord with the declaration referred to. Both the Viceroy's broadcast and the announcement by the Secretary of State contain certain negative assurances.

"The Secretary of State for India said as follows: "At the present juncture, this is only possible on an interim and

provisional basis. It must be without prejudice to the ultimate constitutional settlement. The ideal to which we have always looked is that of an All-India Union in which the states would play their full part. At the same time we have also recognised the possibility that agreement between Hindus and Muslims on any form of Indian unity may be unattainable. Any interim advance, therefore, must in no way prejudge the question whether the ultimate settlement is based on a united or divided India.

Muslim sympathy with Scheduled Castes

"The Wavell proposals have for their basis laid down parity between Hindus, other than Scheduled castes, and Muslims. We have no illusions about this parity, because on the Executive Council, as proposed, the Muslim quota will not be more than one-third, and in the whole of the Executive Council, the Musalmans will be in a minority of one-third. There will be Scheduled caste representation, and Sikh representation and we do not know yet which other community or communities will secure representation, because the strength of the new Executive Council has yet to be determined. So is the case with regard to the composition which is yet to be determined. Now, as regards the Scheduled castes, their real grievance is of social tyranny and economic oppression in Hindu society, but with regard to political ideal or political goal, it is the same so far as the Scheduled castes are concerned. So, the representative or representatives of the Scheduled castes will not have any particular bias for us although, I repeat, we have the fullest sympathy with them and we shall always be ready and willing to help them to improve position socially and economically. Therefore, it follows that the Congress will on many important matters be safely entitled to count on their support.

"As regards Sikh representation, they are already opposed to dividing India and their political idea and goal are the same as those of the Congress. And so, they are not likely to

have any particular bias for us. As to any other community, I do not know yet.

"Then there will be two British members, the Commander-in-Chief and the Viceroy. The composition of the Council will, therefore, be such as to enable the Congress invariably to command a majority.

No Provision Against Congress Tyranny

"I know the Viceroy's veto is there and I know that Mr. Amery says that the veto will be exercised to protect minorities, but also I know that the Governor-General and Viceroy will be placed in a very individious position if he were to exercise the veto constantly and as a normal business.

"The powers and functions of the proposed Executive Council are stated by Mr. Amery as follows in presenting the White Paper in the House of Commons:

"There is nothing in the proposals, if accepted, that will debar members of the Council from dealing with the whole problem of reconstruction entirely as they please. It will be for them to decide the industrial, agricultural and health policies and so on. It will be in their power, so far as British India is concerned, to decide who is to represent her as ministers in foreign capitals, and in which capitals India wishes to be represented. The proposals, if accepted, impose no real barrier or check upon India's freedom to pursue her own course, both at home and in the world."

"Therefore, there is no adequate provision against the Congress forcing their decisions by a majority vote against the Muslim bloc. Therefore, we will have to consider how to provide against this position. We are willing to make full contribution to any just and reasonable settlement. The Congress have already claimed their right to choose a member or members from the Muslim bloc and some other party or parties may make similar claims.

"While we have every desire to find a solution and come to an agreement, this point, namely, that the Congress or any other body should be entitled to choose a Muslim from the Muslim bloc, is one which we cannot accept either on principles or on the facts as they are before us.

Who are they and where are they?

"Musalmans desire honestly to come to a settlement and not play with facts. And I do not think it can possibly be denied that 90 percent of the Musalmans of India are with the League. We have not lost a single by-election, except one—that was in the early days of 1937—out of about seventy by-elections. The total number of Muslim members in all the Provincial Legislatures and the Central Legislature is somewhere about 600 and out of them there are only about 50 who are Congressite Muslims and who happened to be in one or the other Provincial Legislature.

"I am told that in the Central Legislature, there is not a single Congressite Muslim from a Muslim electorate. There are two Muslims who have been returned by joint electorate. We maintain, therefore, that the Muslim League alone and nobody else is entitled to give the names for the entire Muslim bloc to the Viceroy. There cannot be unanimity in this world. I do not think you will find it anywhere in the world. There are a handful of Muslims, who are outside the League and there are Muslims who are in the Congress. But, how many? I venture to say, at the most a few hundreds.

"I think in one of the newspapers, when it was being argued that there are Muslims in the Congress, it said that one swallow does not make an Indian summer. Nor do a few hundred Muslims in the Congress make the Congress either a body representative of India as a whole or support its claim to have any voice in the selection of the members of the Muslim bloc.

"I do hope that when the full scheme has been formulated, it will give us sufficient security so that it will be acceptable to the Muslim nation that they represent."

QAP-F.1010/pp.78-81,F-1022/pp.50-52 &

The Dawn, June 30, 1945.

723

Interview to Preston Grover of the Associated Press of America, Simla, June, 30, 1945.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in an interview to Preston Grover of the Associated Press of America, said that Mr.Gandhi should drop the present conference and work out with Muslim League a new agr. nent in which Pakistan should be an accepted arrangement.

An effort is being made to reach Mr. Gandhi to know his reaction to the suggestion. "If Mr. Gandhi will accept the basis of Pakistan, we need not trouble about this conference," "Mr. Jinnah stated. "There will be another conference of our own."

Side by side then, Mr. Jinnah said, the Congress and the Muslim League could work to achieve freedom and independence for "all the peoples of India."

In a sense it was an invitation to resume the talks which Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah held last autumn in an effort to arrive at a mutual agreement on setting up a National Government for India. The proposition came somewhat as a surprise.

The interview with Mr. Jinnah was in order to get a reply from him to a statement made by Mr. Gandhi in an interview yesterday in which Mr. Gandhi stated that if Mr.

Jinnah wanted him at the Viceroy's conference he could make him come by simply calling for him.

Mr. Jinnah began the interview in an easy manner by reading excerpts from the Gandhi interview. Mr. Gandhi had stated among other things that he had withdrawn from the conference because he had no place in it since he is officially only an "adviser" and not a member. "Mr. Gandhi was invited by the Viceroy as the recognised leader of one of the two main political parties, namely, the Congress, but he declined," Mr. Jinnah said. "Even in his interview he says the Congress is legally represented and, therefore, he can have no place in it. How can I take him to the conference when he says he has no place in it.?

Gandhi as Adviser

"I entirely agree that, technicality apart, without Mr. Gandhi's consent any arrangement that may be agreed upon will suffer seriously. We know that his advice means almost an order so far as the Congress is concerned. But I notice now that he has constituted himself an adviser not only to the Congress but to the Viceroy and through him to the British people.

"The constitution of the All-India Muslim League is a democratic one and it must function according to its rules and regulations. And there is no place for an adviser."

Mr. Jinnah then again turned to the matter of Mr. Gandhi's return to the Viceroy's conference.

"As regards his statement that I could take him to the conference and that we could go arm in arm, if Mr.Gandhi will accept the basis of Pakistan, we need not trouble about this conference. There will be another conference of our own. Mr. Gandhi, I know, is a lover of freedom and independence for the peoples of India. So am I. And I have made it clear that Pakistan cannot be established without the freedom of all the peoples living in this subcontinent. So when we are fighting for Pakistan we are fighting for the freedom of all the peoples of India. That is

embodied in the resolution of the All-India Muslim League adopted at Delhi in April, 1943."

The Bigger Issue

Referring then to the Viceroy's proposal for an interim government for which negotiations are at present almost at a stalemate. Mr. Jinnah said, "I wonder whether Mr. Gandhi realises that this interim government will continue until a bigger issue has been settled by agreement between us, whether it should be a divided India or a united India, whether we are to have a constitution or constitutions and, therefore, this preliminary issue of Pakistan must be settled first, and the sooner it is done, the better for all concerned."(A.P.A.)

The Dawn, July 2, 1945.

724

Speech at a Public Meeting, Simla, July 1, 1945.

Mr. Jinnah thanked the Muslims of Simla for the love and affection they showed him. "This shows", he said, "that you have complete faith and trust in me. Today we have before us grave and critical issues which you have already known by reading my press statement. This is not the occasion for me to make any speech. All that is required from you is unity among Muslims. The key is in your hand. If Muslims are united and on one platform, I am convinced, we shall never lose the battle. We will emerge victorious before the world."

The Dawn, July 2, 1945.

725

Reply to an address presented by the Simla District Muslim League, Simla, July 9, 1945.

Mr. Jinnah said that the Muslim League would yield nothing which would in any way infringe upon the fundamentals of its policy.

On the Wavell proposals Mr. Jinnah said: "We are now at a stage of confidential talks and negotiations. It will not be conducive to the best results, which we all desire, that in the midst of these confidential talks and negotiations I should discuss the question publicly. Perhaps you are impatient, but have patience because it is a virtue and in the long run it pays.

"I think I am not disclosing any secrets, to which I am pledged and to which I strictly adhere, when on June 29 I made a statement at a press conference giving you a picture of some of the issues that we had to tackle. The complete and full picture has not yet emerged.

"We are in this conference, more or less, in the position of advisers to Lord Wavell, who has been good enough to call us. In order that advice may be well considered because two heads are better than one—we have requisitioned the services of the members of our League Working Committee.

"But do not forget we are only advisers. When the true picture emerges, it cannot be binding upon the All-India Muslim League until it has been ratified by our organisation. Do not therefore have any apprehensions."

Mr. Jinnah expressed gratification at the trust placed in him and said: "Nothing on this earth will make me accept any proposals or scheme which I think is likely to prejudice, prejudge or militate against our goal of Pakistan."

"After all, it has been made clear that this is only a make-shift and stopgap arrangement. We are not laying down the future constitution. The whole question is that, with all the desire to take up responsibility, we cannot enter into an arrangement which is not an honourable one, just to us and reasonable.

Need for Rest

Mr. Jinnah said that the pressure of overwork had told upon his health and he needed rest for sometime. He had lost his reserve but with some rest and their good wishes he would again be fit to serve them till his death.

"There was no doubt, except perhaps for those who were blind to realise, that today the All-India Muslim League was the only authoritative and representative organisation of the Muslims of India. This truth had been demonstrated.

But on occasions like the present one—and there were many such occasions in the past—their own Muslim brethren were found playing in the hands of their enemies.

"They remain thoroughly exposed and today there are not more than a handful of Muslims who play into the hands of our opponents," he said.

Mr. Jinnah maintained that the entire Muslim community were behind the Muslim League and said: "Even our worst opponents and enemies today recognise that if there is any organisation in the country which is well equipped and has the solid support of the Muslims it is the All-India Muslim League.

"They may abuse us, but they know in their heart of hearts that what I predicted eight years ago is correct, and that is that in this sub-continent there are three powers. One is the best organised and powerful party, the British, who are actually ruling this country, and the other is the Congress. In spite of all

their pretences and manoeuvres, which will not stand the test, the Congress is a Hindu body. We have proved it.

"There are lakhs and lakhs of Muslims behind us and we are well organised. But there is still a great deal of work to be done. We have reached the first stage of our journey. We Muslims were a crowd before, but today there is no doubt whatever that we are a nation under one flag, one platform and with a definite goal—Pakistan.

"What does Pakistan mean. It means that in this subcontinent where we are in a majority we are determined to establish our National State. I feel confident that as we go on we will be able to show the world that in spite of the opposition we shall establish Pakistan.

Mr. Jinnah said that he had received thousands of telegrams and letters from all parts of India expressing loyal sentiments to the League. He knew fully well what the views of Muslims were, what they wanted and he assured them he would not yield anything which would be in any way infringe upon the rights of Muslims."(A.P.I.)

The Dawn, July 10, 1945.

726

Interview to Stewart Densley, U.P.A's Correspondent, Simla, July 11, 1945.

Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, in an exclusive interview to Mr. Stewart Densley, United Press of America's correspondent at Simla, said that the basic reason why the League was not able to collaborate with the Congress in the preparation of a joint

panel for submission to the Viceroy was because the Congress insisted that they should do the choosing or that we should agree that two Muslims out of the Muslim bloc should be chosen by them."

"Thus the Congress, by a flank movement, attempts to nullify the very basic principles underlying the proposal-which they accepted-and reduce Muslim effectiveness by securing Congress and Muslim 'quislings.'"

Provincial Arrangement

Mr. Jinnah also disclosed that in so far as the League is concerned any arrangement at the Centre will have to be achieved with 'simultaneous agreements' or arrangements in provinces, if a workable administration is to be devised.

Returning to the question of panel selection Mr. Jinnah said, "Under the Wavell proposals quota is allotted to Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Scheduled Castes and may be to some other communities on communal basis and our contention is — and it is based on the principles of the proposals—that the Muslim quota should be recommended by the Muslim League since it has an authoritative representation of Muslims."

As regards provincial arrangements Mr. Jinnah asserted that 'no arrangements at the Centre would work satisfactorily unless provincial arrangements are made which will satisfy the two major parties—the Hindus and Muslims—if section 93 is to be removed.

Pakistan First

Mr. Jinnah re-emphasized the League's basic stand that no permanent India solution can be achieved without the recognition of Pakistan, and described as "camouflage" the Congress members' statements that agreement on the Wavell Plan might lead to the rapid creation of an All-India National Government.

Mr. Jinnah said: "We can never agree to any kind of united India national government, because it would be a Hindu national government with overwhelming communal—not political—majority.

Commenting on Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's statement to the United Press of America that the solution for India's economic ills lay in the establishment of "progressive socialism" under a national government, Mr. Jinnah said that such remarks were beside the point since they predicted the mistaken assumption that there could be a united India.

Progressive Government

As for progressive government "when our Pakistan is eventually established on the basis of divided India, it will not lag behind any civilized government in the world in promoting social, economic, educational and political reforms and bettering the lot of the poor," Mr. Jinnah said. He declined to enumerate concrete steps or outlines for any definite programme at present, but asserted that Pakistan would be the people's government, irrespective of caste, creed, and colour or race.

The Eastern Times, July 12, 1945.

727

Statement at a press conference, Simla, July 14, 1945.

"On a final examination and the analysis of the Wavell Plan, we found that it was a snare. There was the combination consisting of Gandhi-Hindu Congress, which stand for India's Hindu national independence as one India and the latest exponent of geographical unity, Lord Wavell and Glancy-Khizar who are bent upon creating disruption among the Musalmans in the Punjab, and we were sought to be pushed into this

arrangement, which, if we had agreed to, as proposed by Lord Wavell we would have signed our death warrant.

"Our stand has been, and we have repeatedly made it clear to the British Government several times since 1940, that we cannot consider or enter into any provisional interim Government unless a declaration is made by the British Government guaranteeing the right of self-determination of Muslims and pledging that after the war, or so soon as it may be possible, the British Government would establish Pakistan having regard to the basic principles laid down in the Lahore resolution of the Muslim League passed in March 1940. This was condition No.1 to our considering any provisional arrangement. Condition No.2 was that we are not a minority but a nation and we can only enter into provisional arrangement, having regard to the necessities and exigencies of the moment created by the war and fully co-operate in the prosecution of the war and that in any arrangement we claimed equal number in the proposed executive.

"The Wavell proposals set at naught both these conditions and called upon us to make the severest sacrifice. I know in his broadcast he said that these proposals are without prejudice to any future constitution or constitutions of India. While in one breath it is impressed upon us that these proposals are without prejudice and do not prejudge the Pakistan issue, yet the Plan in fact contradicts this in the next breath by its very terms. It is obvious to any intelligent man that if we accept this arrangement the Pakistan issue will be shelved and put in the cold storage indefinitely, whereas the Congress will have secured under this arrangement what they want, namely, a clear road for their advance towards securing Hindu national independence of India, because the future Executive will work as a unitary Government of India and we know that this interim or provisional arrangement will have a way of setting down for an unlimited period and all the forces in the proposed Executive plus the known policy of the British Government and Lord

Wavell's strong inclination for a united India, would completely jeopardise us, for, I will quote Mr. Amery, who has tried his best but in the result given us cold comfort and his statement is a very clear indication and a pointer to British policy. Speaking in the House of Commons, where he presented the White Paper, he said as follows:-

What Amery Said

"The ideal to which we have always looked is that of an All-India Union in which the States would play their full part. At the same time we have also recognised the possibility that agreement between Hindus and Muslims on any form of Indian unity may be unattainable. Any interim advance, therefore, must in no way prejudge the question whether the ultimate settlement is based on a united or a divided India."

"Next, in the proposed Executive we would be reduced to a minority of one-third. All the other minorities, such as the Scheduled castes, Sikhs and Christians have the same goal as the Congress. They have their grievances as minorities but their goal and ideology both cannot be different from or otherwise than that of United India. Ethnically and culturally they are very closely knitted to the Hindu society. I am not against full justice being done to all the minorities and they should be fully safeguarded and protected as such, wherever they may be. But in the actual working and practice, invariably their vote will be against us and there is no safeguard for us except the Viceroy's veto, which, it is well-known to any constitutionalist, cannot be exercised lightly as everyday business against majority decisions with regard to the policy and the principles that will have to be laid down and measures adopted, both administrative and legislative.

"On the top of this game, the last straw on camel's back that even about the five members of the Muslim bloc which were allotted to us community-wise, which is the essence of the Wavell proposals, we were told that the Muslim League was not

entitled to nominate all the Muslim representatives as our chosen spokesmen and there were two claims—the Congress claimed two, and Glancy-Khizar on behalf of the Punjab claimed one. This move on the part of these two went at the very root and the very existence of the Muslim League regarding its position, character and status. But finally we broke as Lord Wavell insisted upon his having one non-League nominee of Malik Khizar Hayat Khan representing Punjab Muslims. As I have said, it is only the blind who cannot see that the All-India Muslim League is the only authoritative representative organisation of the Musalmans. If we had accepted this position as presented to us by Lord Wavell, we would have emerged out of this conference minus everything and we would have entirely betrayed our people. It would have been an abject surrender on our part for all we stand for and it would have been a death-knell to the Muslim League. This was the position which faced us and we found that it was impossible for us to accept this arrangement." (A.P.I.).

The Dawn, July 15, 1945.

728

Statement on Funds for Elections, Simla, July 16, 1945.

"I am leaving within a few days and I do not wish to announce the exact date of my departure. I have already received many messages from the people on the way wishing to give the receptions. I am very grateful to them but my health does not permit me to go through this ordeal, especially as I have gone through very strenuous work during the last three weeks, which has had a very great strain on me. In these circumstances, while I am very thankful for the support, encouragement and regard and affection in which Musalmans hold me, I earnestly

request them not to arrange any receptions or demonstrations '*en-route*'.

"I take this opportunity of thanking thousands who have sent me their telegrams and letters of encouragement and support. I advise them to concentrate all their might in organising our people and getting ready to face the elections which are bound to come sooner than many people think.

"You know that elections cannot be fought without money. Therefore, everywhere from now onwards collect funds in each province and systematically organise our people.

"So far as the Centre is concerned, we have already devised ways and means in order to efficiently and adequately help the various provinces and constituencies, but the Central Fund and the Central Organisation will function independently and separately and the provincial organisation will in each province function separately and collect their funds and manage them. Those who wish to help this effort and wish to send in contributions to the Central Fund, as there is necessity and urgency for it, should do so and send their contributions directly to me.

"I have not made any appeal for funds since 1942, as there was no need for it, but I want to impress upon our people that we do require money now to face these elections all over the vast sub-continent of India in 11 provinces as well as for the Centre. I hope that my appeal will meet with cordial and generous response." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, July 17, 1945.

729

Statement about release of Azad-Wavell Letters, Bombay, August 3, 1945.

"The Labour Government should not be misled by the flattery of Congress leaders that was at present in evidence.

I hope Lord Wavell and the Congress President will release the correspondence. It is necessary that the public should know what, in fact, took place between the Viceroy and the Congress President. I am waiting for the correspondence to be released. So long as the correspondence is not published, it is quite obvious that it is being suppressed and that the proof is being kept back from the public."

The Dawn, August 5, 1945.

730

Speech at a public meeting convened to present a purse to Mr. Jinnah, Bombay, August 6, 1945.

"The first question is why did Mr. Gandhi as one of the leaders of the recognised parties go to Simla? Having gone there, why did Mr. Gandhi not attend the conference? The reason is simple. It is to play the role of wire-puller.

"He has not merely content with being an adviser of the Congress and its Working Committee, but he constituted himself as an adviser of the Viceroy and through him to British nation. Mornings and evenings, the Working Committee meetings took place and he was the guiding spirit behind. When it suits him, he represents nobody, he can talk in individual

capacity; he is not even a four-anna member of the Congress; he undertakes fast to decide the political issue; he reduces himself to zero and consults his inner voice; yet when it suits him, he is the supreme dictator of the Congress! He thinks he represents whole of India.

"Mr. Gandhi is an enigma .... How can we come to a settlement with him? There was so much venom and bitterness against the Muslims and the Muslim League that the Congress were prepared to go to any length with two objectives; first, to hammer down, humiliate and discourage the Muslim League and every method was adopted to bully us, coerce us and to threaten us to surrender; the second was to see Muslim League ignored and by-passed and for that purpose, they stooped to the lowest point, that they threw up their principles to the winds.

"The Congress leaders, who championed "Quit India" and "complete independence" and of which they made such play, came to Simla defeated, frustrated and scared and threw themselves at the feet of Lord Wavell to secure certain portfolios, because there was no question of self-government within the framework of the present constitution. In order to be on the right side of Lord Wavell, they first tried to beat down and humiliate Muslim League and, second, so to work him up as to get him to by-pass the League through a shortsighted and miscalculated policy adopted at Simla, which was a complete failure. Now, they accuse Lord Wavell of breach of faith and allege that he had given an assurance to ignore and by-pass the League. I don't believe it. Even if he could not have done it.

Muslims are a Nation

"There are only two major parties in this country, and Lord Wavell's broadcast was the very conception. Invitations issued to Mr. Gandhi and myself were on the basis that Mr. Gandhi was the recognised leader of one of the parties and myself the leader of the other. The British called them parties, but in fact they are two major nations. There is no doubt that

other minorities must be assured of safeguards, but that is not the case with the ten crores of Muslims who happen to be a majority in the North-Western and North-Eastern zones where they want to establish Pakistan. Because the British turned down the Congress proposals at Simla and they accused the British Government of having given me the veto. These people do not know the meaning of veto; or they try to misrepresent the League. There is no question of veto. The proposal was for an interim Government under the present constitution. I have already given my reasons that it was unjust and unreasonable. Congress cannot expect us to agree to what they want, however detrimental to our interest that may be. What does the Congress want? They want to establish a Hindu raj. But the League wishes Hindustan Godspeed and freedom for Hindustan. At the same time we want to establish Pakistan in two zones where we are in a majority. Unless Mr. Gandhi and Congress give up their dream of establishing Hindu raj and by hook or by crook bringing the Muslims into it for which they have been determinedly working, they cannot expect us to transfer ourselves from the British Government to a Hindu raj.

Conference Wound Up for All Time

"People say the Conference was a failure. I would say the Conference is wound up for all time. Since 1940, because of war, we offered our hand of co-operation to Britain for defence and prosecution of war. We did not want any aggression either from Hitler or from the Mikado. In our own interest, therefore, we were ready to co-operate. For what would have we gained otherwise? Our homes and hearths would have been bombarded both in North-Eastern and North-Western zones where Muslims are in a majority. If Hitler had succeeded, we would have been thrown from the frying pan into the fire; therefore, it was a war emergency which called for an interim settlement for the successful prosecution of the war. When Lord Wavell went to England, the war in Europe had not finished. But, now remember, the war in Europe is over, and the war in the Far

East is almost coming to an end. Japan is concentrating in her own homelands hundreds of miles away. There is no use of talking on interim settlements now.

Pakistan issue must be decided

"Let us go ahead with measures for a permanent constitutional settlement. Pakistan must be decided if the issue of freedom and independence of India is to be decided. We will never surrender the issue of Pakistan to anybody as our claim is a just and righteous one and is the only solution for India.

"We want to fight the elections so that they may once for all convince those who doubt our representative character. If you organise properly, and with the support of the people, we will sweep the polls. The name of the League is resounding in the whole world and Muslims have now awakened to a new consciousness of nationhood. If the conference had succeeded in by-passing the Muslim League, I would not have asked you for money to fight the elections; but more than that, I would have asked you for complete sacrifice for the realisation of our goal of Pakistan.

The Dawn, August 8, 1945.

731

Statement regarding release of Azad Wavell Correspondence, Bombay, August 9, 1945.

In a statement to the Press, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, appeals to the Viceroy and the Congress President, Maulana Abul-Kalam Azad, to release the correspondence that passed between them at Simla. He says that this is necessary as very serious allegations are made against the Muslim League and the

responsibility for the failure of the conference is being falsely thrown on Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League.

Mr. Jinnah says, "I find from the Press report which appeared yesterday that the President of the Congress has informed the Associated Press of India that the Viceroy had held the correspondence that passed between him and Lord Wavell as confidential, as it was part of the conference proceedings which according to the Viceroy, should not be released. Evidently it is implied that the Congress holds the other view, and yet so easily and readily has the Congress President taken shelter under the so-called ruling of the Viceroy".

Mr. Jinnah asks: "Does the Congress not owe any duty to the public. Are the Congress Press and the Congress leaders to misrepresent and scandalise the Muslim League and be a party at the same time to suppressing the correspondence which might throw light and thereby the public may come to know the real truth as to the conduct and attitude of the Congress at the Simla Conference.

"In the past the Congress leaders as well as the Viceroy have released correspondence without even the courtesy of informing the other party before giving publicity to it

"I do not know who advised Lord Wavell to hold the correspondence as part of 'Conference proceedings'. It had nothing whatsoever to do with the proceedings of the conference. The conference was adjourned on June 29 till the July 14, as there was no agreement reached between the Congress and the Muslim League after I had taken the initiative to see Pandit Pant and had two meetings with him lasting each time for about two hours.

Sudden Announcement

"The Viceroy, when we met on the morning of June 29, deferred to help bring about agreement as the selection of the personnel of his proposed new Executive Council, and for that

purpose he made certain suggestions and wanted the various invitees to help him and finally he was, to use his own words, to "decide whether it was worth while making definite proposals to the conference."

When the conference met on July 14, he straightway announced his failure and closed down the conference without putting anything before the conference as a result of his efforts. How therefore can the correspondence, by any stretch of imagination, be considered as part of the conference proceedings.

Technically and morally both the Viceroy and the President of the Congress are bound to place the whole correspondence before the public, as the truth must be spoken and let the public and the world judge in the light of the documentary evidence as to what part the Congress played in those talks which were outside the conference.

So far as the correspondence between the Viceroy and me on behalf of the League went, the Secretary of the All-India Muslim League intimated to the Private Secretary of the Viceroy on the evening of the July 14, that I proposed to release that correspondence, and the Private Secretary officially informed the Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan that we could do so, and the correspondence was published the same night. Why then, it is difficult to understand, should Lord Wavell object to the release of the letters passed between the Congress President and him.

Suspicion Strengthened

"It only deepens further the suspicion that truth is sought to be suppressed from the public. I once more ask the Congress President if the Viceroy is objecting to it, to reconsider the matter and release the correspondence. Surely the Congress President cannot get away by surrendering his opinion and judgement and taking shelter under what Lord Wavell says about this correspondence and suppress it as he repeatedly said

at Simla immediately after the failure of the conference that he was going to release the correspondence."

Why should he now become so servile and forfeit his right, in deference to the wishes of the Viceroy, to place the whole truth before the public.

"I also appeal to the Viceroy to reconsider the position and release the correspondence in fairness to the Muslim League as very serious allegations are made against the Muslim League and the responsibility for the failure of the conference is thrown on me and the League falsely. (A.P.I.)

QAP-F-1022/pp.59-61 &

The Dawn, August 10, 1945.

732

Speech at a Public Meeting held to present a purse and donation to Mr. M. A. Jinnah for Election Fund, Bombay, August 12, 1945.

Characterizing the charges as the Congress "stunt", Mr. Jinnah dealt with the first, namely, that the British Government had given him the veto; the second, that his attitude was intransigent and that he was obstructing the achievement of India's freedom as he was "playing the game of British imperialism" and thereby insinuating that he was "carrying out the wishes of Britain."

All this is false and those who talk like this know it and they must, on saner reflection, realize how silly it is to carry on this false propaganda. They know that all their manoeuvres and machinations are to force the Muslim provinces into an interim or permanent all India union by hook or by crook and, what is more, they look to the British bayonets to perform the task for

them and hence they resort to alternating and varying methods, flattering and hurling abuses, cringing and giving threats to the British Government.

Hindu raj to be resisted

"We are determined not to submit to any scheme of an all-India union, interim or otherwise, and we will resist any attempt to impose such a union upon the Muslims. To characterize this resistance on our part, as exercises of 'veto' by me, is, on the face of it, absurd, and those who talk like this know that it is so. To say that our attitude is to obstruct the achievement of freedom for Hindus and Muslims is utterly false, for we want both Hindu India and Muslim India to be free. But we cannot agree to any arrangement, which means freedom for Hindus and establishment of 'Hindu Raj' and slavery for the Muslims—transfer of Muslim India from British Raj to Hindu Raj. That is the real issue.

Cripps' Statement

Mr. Jinnah recalled the recent statement of Sir Stafford Cripps to the Reuters on July 17. Sir Stafford had said: "It is far better to expedite the means of arriving at a permanent settlement in which the question of Pakistan must form a major issue. It would not be right to allow any minority, however large and important, to hold up the attainment of self-government in India, any more than it would be right to force the Muslim majority provinces into new constitutional arrangement to which they took fundamental objection."

"What the Congress wants is to force the Muslim majority provinces into an all-India union to which we not only take fundamental objection but we shall resist it with all our might if it is imposed upon us. I hope that the saner elements of the Hindus will at least realize that it is futile to look up to the British Government to throw Muslim India at the mercy of the

Hindu raj or to force a constitution of the Hindu conception upon Muslim India and then maintain it with British bayonets.

The Only Solution

"Therefore, the just and the only solution of India's constitutional problem lies in the establishment of Pakistan and Hindustan. It is, therefore, the Congress that is obstructing the freedom of all the peoples of India and is really responsible for the deadlock, for it wants all or nothing-which is a dream that will never materialize.

Nehru's Tactics

After thanking the various associations and members of the Muslim community for their generous donation to the election fund, Mr. Jinnah gave what he called a short account of the main issues facing the community. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, he said, has been summoning the so-called Muslim leaders. According to reports he is conferring with them. You must not, therefore, think that the Congress is not going to give you the greatest possible havoc. You have again Mr. Gandhi's constructive programme. He uses a word the meaning of which is quite different. You must remember that the Congress has got not only lakhs of rupees, but the figure can be calculated in crores.

"When Mr. Gandhi means constructive programme, it really means a destructive programme for Muslims.

"They will do their best to disrupt the Muslim-to divide, to corrupt, mislead and misguide and bamboozle them. They will resort to every means and device possible. But I think, unless my judgement of Muslims is wrong, and I have known them sufficiently intimately for the last nearly seven years, that all these efforts of the Congress and our enemies are foredoomed to failure. I wish that the large amount of money which is at their disposal can be utilized for a better purpose than causing disruption among the Muslims. But I am doubtful whether the

leopard can change its spot. There it is that we have got to face facts and, I hope, that with your co-operation and wisdom we will come out of it with success.

"The Assembly of various sections of the Muslim community in Bombay on this occasion showed that they had gathered there as Muslims.

"I see it is clear today that Shias and Sunnis, Bohras, Khojas and Memons are one. There is no question of any kind of difference.

No time for Differences

"If you have understood and if my words can reach Muslim India you will realize that the enemy is at the gate. We cannot afford to indulge in our differences. At this moment we must close our ranks and stand solidly and united as one nation. Then you will vindicate not only your national character but also your national claim.

In this connection Mr. Jinnah explained the sufferings of the British nation during the 'Blitz' and how they came out of the war successfully, because of their unity, although they were only 35 millions. "You are ten crore, that means nearly three times that number, with your past history and glory. We shall have time to quarrel among ourselves and we shall have time when these differences will have to be settled, when wrongs and injuries will have to be remedied. We shall have time for domestic programme and policies, but first get the Government. This is a nation without any territory or any Government."

Mr. Jinnah appealed for funds to conduct the elections and said what he wanted from them were "silver bullets." "Give me the silver bullets and the League will finish the job."

The sum of Rs.3,11,000 which they had donated today, Mr. Jinnah said, showed that there was something higher and stronger which they had got. That was their political awakening

and consciousness and understanding of the issues. Mr. Jinnah mentioned his early career as a barrister when he was called to stand for the municipal election and how he came out successful, to show how the Muslims of Bombay had always helped him. "Now there is a much bigger issue," he said. "I want you now to come up to my point and with your help and support we shall never fail whatever the manoeuvres and machinations of our opponents." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, August 13, 1945.

733

Statement on Azad-Wavell letters, Bombay, August 14, 1945.

"My attention has been drawn to the interview given by the President of the Congress to the Associated Press, which has appeared in the press today, stating that he would be prepared to share with me in confidence the correspondence that passed between him and Lord Wavell. This offer is futile and childish. It is not a family matter between him and me or a private concern of two individuals. Elementary sense of duty and responsibility as President of the Congress should make him realize that he owes it to the public to release the correspondence, so that the whole truth may be placed upon the bar of public opinion.

"I have already shown that the so-called ruling of the Viceroy, if any given, is legally, morally and in fact wrong. Why was the correspondence between Lord Wavell and me allowed to be published by him without any ado? Besides, it is not a question of one party giving a ruling against another party. It is the inherent right of the President of the Congress to exercise his own discretion and judgement, and he is bound by every rule and canon of public life to take the public into his confidence.

especially when reckless allegations are made by responsible Congress leaders and prominent members of the Working Committee.

What Pattabhi Said

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, referring to the Simla Conference, said at a public meeting at Masulipatam, on July 23, that 'the Viceroy had told the Congress President at the outset that no single party or leader would be allowed to torpedo the Conference out of wilfulness that bore an analogy to the Cripps' offer of Cabinet Government in Sir Stafford Cripps' interview with the Congress President. In both cases the representatives of Britain went back on their words. This was the only dark spot in the picture of the Simla Conference, as Lord Wavell had allowed Mr. Jinnah's intransigence to obstruct even the programme of the Conference.'

"The Muslim League and myself are maligned and misrepresented and not only the blame is thrown on the leader for the failure of the Conference, but also it is insinuated that we played the game of the British Government.

"In today's papers Mr. Kirpalani, General-Secretary of the Congress and, I believe, a member of the Working Committee, addressing the 'Progressive' Group in Bombay, is reported to have said that 'the British Government did not want the Conference to succeed; therefore, it did not succeed.'

"The Congress President assures the public that the correspondence, whenever released, will reveal nothing that will not satisfy every one of the goodwill of the Congress towards all parties. If the correspondence is so innocuous and harmless, why this fuss and why should it not be released?

"I hope that Lord Wavell will realize that his persistence, if it is true, in banning the release of the correspondence is unjustifiable, in the light of what I have said above, and it is up

to him to clear the very grave charges and allegations that are publicly made by the Congress leaders."

QAP-F-1022/pp.62-63 &

The Dawn, August 15, 1945.

734

Message to the Editor-in-Charge Weekly "VAKIL", Bombay, August 17, 1945.

"I have noted what you say with regard to your weekly "*Vakil*". I am glad to know that its policy is to support the aims of the All-India Muslim League for the realization of Pakistan and generally to popularize the policy and programme of the Muslim League. That being so, I wish your venture all success, and I hope that the management of the "*Vakil*" will loyally stand by the All-India Muslim League.

735

Released his Correspondence with Khan Abdul Qayum Khan, lately Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly, Bombay, August 22, 1945.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of All-India Muslim League, has released to the Press the following correspondence that has passed between him and Mr. Abdul Qayum Khan, lately, Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly:

Letter from Mr. Abdul Qayum, dated Lucknow the 16th August, 1945:

"Respected Quaid-Azam,——I am here on a professional visit. I expect to be here till 25.8.1945, when I shall leave for Peshawar, and hope to be there on 27.8. I beg to communicate to you what I consider to be the most momentous decision of my life. This is the result of anxious heart-searching and hard thinking for days on end.

I have decided to join the Muslim League, I believe that the stand taken by you is absolutely correct and that any Muslim who opposes you is betraying the cause of Islam in India. I am now awaiting your orders and will do as I am told - Yours sincerely"

Telegram from Mr. Jinnah to Mr. Abdul Qayum, dated Bombay the 20th August, 1945:

"Your letter 16th August many thanks. I am glad to note your decision to join League. I appreciate your views frankly expressed in your letter. No room or place any honest Muslim in Congress or support it at any rate after the Simla Conference. I hope others will follow your example and join our National organisation the All-India Muslim League especially at this critical juncture and serve selflessly the national cause of Muslim India and all that Islam stands for. — Jinnah."

QAP-F-810/p. 149.

736

Message to the Muslims before leaving Bombay for Karachi, Bombay, August 28, 1945.

"I advise the Musalmans to concentrate all their might in organising our people and getting ready."

The Dawn, August 29, 1945.

737

Appeal to Muslims to join the Muslim League, Karachi, August 30, 1945.

"Sir Firoz Khan Noon has been in communication with me for some time, and informed me confidentially by his letter dated 21st August that he had decided to send in his resignation as a Member of the Executive Council of the Governor General from the 15th of September, and that he proposed to go back to Punjab to join and help the Muslim League.

"I was not in a position to disclose the communication pending certain formalities that had to be gone through. But now that his resignation has been accepted and the Government has issued a communique to that effect, I am glad that Sir Firoz has come into our fold, and I have no doubt that he will work selflessly for our national organization and play an honourable part in the public life of Muslim India, particularly in the Muslim Punjab.

"I welcome every Mussalman and earnestly appeal to him to join the Muslim League at this critical juncture. The Muslim League has no malice, nor can such a great organization ever be vindictive or revengeful. An earnest change over on the part of any Muslim would be welcomed by us.

"The immediate paramount issues before us in the forthcoming elections are: (1)Pakistan and (2)that the Muslim League is the only authoritative and representative organization of the Musalmans of India, and we are going to fight the coming elections on these two main issues. But at the same time, we must see that our best men are returned, and that the selection of the candidates is made on the basis of merit, justice and fairplay. We should do our best to send up a first class team that will work in the various legislatures with earnestness for the

welfare of our people and to maintain prestige and the honour of the All India Muslim League."(A.P.I.)

The Dawn, August 31, 1945.

738

Reply to an address presented at the Sind Muslim College, Karachi, September 2, 1945.

Mr. Jinnah received an address at the Sind Muslim College replying to which he said that "Ministries did not matter now."

He wanted the Muslims to conduct the elections as one solid body and work for the welfare of Muslim India. He said his appeal for funds had received a great response and he was receiving money orders daily from all over India. He urged the college authorities to keep the college under their control and not to transfer it to Government.

The Eastern Times, September 4, 1945.

739

Speech at a Public Meeting, Karachi, September 2, 1945.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah addressing a public meeting made a fervent appeal to Sind Muslims to stand solidly behind the Muslim League, work with amity under its banner and return all 35 Muslim League candidates to the Sind Legislative Assembly.

He said that today the whole world was looking at Indian Muslims and he was glad that the Muslims were not sleeping. They were ready to fight for their cause." I do not want you to shed your blood but be prepared to fight for the Muslim League votes" said he, and added: "I am sure that Sind, which has been the entrance of Mussalmans in India, would lead the path for our emancipation."

Mr. Jinnah continued: "We do not grudge independence for Hindus, but let them be in Hindustan. Pakistan is ours. This is our own land and we should be free to rule over it."

"The Hindus,"he said," fully realised that the Muslim League was the solid body of Musalmans of India. The Muslims knew that already. But there was a possibility of friction due to interference from our enemies."

Mr. Jinnah referred to his talks with the Muslims League leaders and the formation of the new Parliamentary Board and hoped that they would continue to work unitedly for the success of League nominees.

Mr. Jinnah, who was presented with a purse of Rs.3,000 on behalf of the Muslim Students Federation, remarked: "Give us silver bullets and we will finish the job." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, September 4, 1945.

740

Statement at a Press Conference, Karachi, September 6, 1945.

"After my arrival here on August 28, on my way to Quetta I only intended to make a short halt and meet a few leaders and discuss Sind affairs with them, but I was pressed by so many other people and groups that I had to continue my stay

here. I have met prominent Leaders and various groups and had interviews with hundreds of Muslim Leaguers individually and in batches, and I found that there was complete agreement amongst all: man, woman and child, that they not only supported our cherished goal of Pakistan but are prepared to make any and every sacrifice to achieve it, and that they were wholeheartedly with the Muslim League, which is the only authoritative and representative organization of the Musalmans of India. They were prepared to bury their differences, forget and forgive the past and join together in maintaining complete unity and discipline, and consolidate and concentrate with all their might on the forthcoming election.

"Our new constitution and rules lay down that the Provincial Muslim League Parliamentary Board should be constituted consisting of seven persons as follows: two ex-officio members of the Board and five to be elected, one by the League Assembly Party and four by the Council of the Provincial Muslim League. As regards the two ex-officio members of the Board, who come in by virtue of their office, one would be Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah as Leader of the Muslim League Parliamentary Party and the other Mr. G. M. Syed as President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, and it was the general concensus of opinion that Mr. Khuhro's name should be recommended for election by the League Assembly Party, and that Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur, Syed Khair Shah, Mr. Ghulam Nabi Pathan, and Pir Illahi Baksh should be recommended to the Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League and that the Council should be persuaded to accept them as their representatives on the Board, and it is hoped that the Council will endorse their recommendation and elect them.

This Board, when formed and completed, will proceed with its task according to the new rules and the procedure laid down by the Central Parliamentary Board and finally select the candidates from amongst all the applicants after giving due consideration to each and every application which the Board

may receive, and the persons so selected will be the official Muslim League candidates. But any candidate who has not been given a Muslim League ticket by the Provincial Parliamentary Board and is dissatisfied with their decision has a right to appeal to the Central Parliamentary Board of the All India Muslim League, who will finally decide as to who should be the official Muslim League candidate and given the League ticket. Their decision as the appellate tribunal will be final.

Wonderful Spirit

I was happy to see the wonderful spirit shown by every body that I met, and all the leaders have solemnly pledged themselves to see that the proposed Board, if accepted by the Council and the Assembly Party, as it is hoped that both these bodies will do their functions smoothly and amicably with full confidence and trust in each other and that the members of the Board will make their selection of the candidate with full sense of responsibility and in the best interest of Musalmans and our cause, and do justice and maintain fairplay in their task of selecting the candidates from all those persons who have sent in their applications to the Board after full and careful consideration of the case of each applicant. The Board will proceed with its business as soon as it is formed and complete its task according to the new rules referred to above.

I understand that the meeting of the Parliamentary Assembly Party and that of the Council of the Provincial Muslim League has already been called for the 15th of September, and I do hope that they will endorse the recommendation of the five names mentioned above, and that immediately after the formation of the Provincial Parliamentary Board, they will proceed to invite applications from any Muslim Leaguer who wants to stand as the League candidate, giving sufficient and reasonable time to those who wish to apply. After the expiry of the period fixed for entertaining applications. they will forthwith proceed with the task of making selections and announce their

decision, and thereafter if any candidate is dissatisfied or aggrieved by the decision of the Provincial Parliamentary Board that his application is rejected, it is open to him as a matter of right to appeal to the Central Parliamentary Board, and we will try and arrange, in order to facilitate the task of the Central Parliamentary Board, and also it will be more convenient and expeditious for all parties concerned, that they as the appellate tribunal should meet immediately after the decision is given by the Provincial Parliamentary Board, if possible at Karachi and deal with such appeals as may be preferred against the decisions of the Provincial Parliamentary Board, and for that purpose they will stay here if necessary as long as their task would require them to do so.

Vital Issue

In the meantime I appeal to the voters in various constituencies not to make any promises until they know finally who are the candidates set up by the Muslim League, and thereafter I appeal to every voter to support the League candidates and do everything in his power to ensure the success of the League candidates in every constituency. We are face to face with a very vital and paramount issue, and this is one of the important criteria by which the opinion in India and abroad will be greatly influenced, as this is one of the tests by which Muslim India can prove that we are solidly and determinedly in favour of Pakistan. This verdict will have its far-reaching significance and effect regarding not only the national character of the position and the status of the All-India Muslim League but with regard to our national demand of Pakistan,for which we are, man, woman and child, struggling and have worked all these years.

"I am confident that Musalmans of Sind will realize the great importance of this issue and that they will not fail, and I have every hope of success throughout India. But we must work with our main and might as powerful forces will oppose us. Take

no chances. Vigilance, solidarity, systematic organization and complete discipline will secure our triumph on this issue.

No Advice to Khuhro

The report published in a certain section of the press that Khan Bahadur Khuhro had been advised by Mr. Jinnah to get the disparaging remarks made against him by the Sessions Judge in his judgement expunged by moving the Chief Court, and that such an application had been prepared by some local lawyers under the guidance of Mr. Jinnah, brought forth an emphatic denial from Mr. Jinnah who characterized it as absolutely false.

He also contradicted another report to the effect that he had offered the League ticket to Khan Bahadur Haji Maula Bukhsh if he signed the League pledge. To say so, addedd Mr. Jinnah, was not only an insult to Mr. Maula Bakhsh, but was also a serious charge against himself. It would be highly improper for me to interfere or to influence the activities, proceedings and decisions of the Parliamentary Boards, Provincial or Central, or for that matter, of any tribunal set up by the League. No inducement can ever be given to any person, howsoever high he may be, in joining the Muslim League. It will be corruption to do so and no honest man can be a party to it."

When his attention was drawn to the existence of a parallel Muslim League in Sind, Mr. Jinnah said, "There can be only one Provincial League. If it is not properly functioning, it is not for me but for the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League to disaffiliate it and take any such step as it deems proper. I have nothing to add."

The Dawn, September 7, 1945.

741

Speech in reply to an Address presented by the Punjabi Hides and Skin Merchants Association, Karachi, September 8, 1945.

The Punjabi Hides and Skins Merchants Association,Karachi, presented an address of welcome and a purse of rupees ten thousand to Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah recently at the office of the Association.

The Quaid-i-Azam in his reply to the address thanked the Association for the purse and referred to the efforts of the Muslim League to start chambers of commerce all over India. He said that trade and education were the two pillars of a nation. Without education there would be darkness and without trade starvation and death.

He referred to the miracle which, in the opinion of the Association, he had performed in Muslim politics. He requested the Association to perform a similar miracle in trade. He emphasized the need of unity, organization and propaganda if Muslim trade was to make any headway.

The Dawn, September 9, 1945.

742

I'd Message to the Muslims of India, Karachi, September 8, 1945.

On this most auspicious and happy occasion I wish the Musalmans of India collectively and each and every one

(individually) *I'd Mubarak*, with peace, happiness and prosperity.

The sacred month of Ramazan, which imposes a regime of a most trying nature,—fasting—prayer, and the rigours prescribed—is just over, and you have gone through it with patience and confidence. The eagerly awaited I'd morning has now ushered into all Muslim homes a bright and glorious ray of happiness and rejoicing.

"The month of Ramazan has a great lesson for us all. It is a great institution in itself. It teaches the Musalmans that happiness and success and the accomplishment of one's task cannot be achieved without undergoing hardships, toil and trouble, and that we cannot attain our objectives without making sacrifices. It teaches us how to overcome our desires, appetites and lusts, all by ourselves, and how to resist what is morally wrong and undesirable. It is a discipline of the highest order and strict rigidity, and for us, the Mussalmans of India in particular, there is much to learn from the regime laid down for the month of Ramazan.

Since my last I'd message to you the world and India, have seen enormous changes, the bloodiest war in human history has come to an end, and I hope that the forces of democracy and justice and fairplay will bring in peace and stand truly victorious. Since I spoke to you last on this happy occasion, the Musalmans and the Muslim League have made great progress, and I find that the League is going forward from strength to strength, and that the Muslim mind is being rivetted more and more in the direction of devising ways and means, and they have set their hand to practical nation-building work, such as social, educational and economic. No less are the searching and examining of ways and means of industrial reconstruction of our homelands comprising Pakistan. The Musalmans are realizing more and more their responsibility in every direction. Every Musalman knows that the injunctions of the Quran are

not confined to religious and moral duties. "From the Atlantic to the Ganges," says Gibbon, the Quran is acknowledged as the fundamental code, not only of theology, but of civil and criminal Jurisprudence, and the laws which regulate the actions and the property of mankind are governed by the immutable sanctions of the will of God." Everyone, except those who are ignorant, knows that the Quran is the general code of the Muslims. A religious, social, civil, commercial, military, judicial, criminal, penal code; it regulates everything from the ceremonies of religion to those of daily life; from the salvation of the soul to the health of the body; from the rights of all to those of each individual; from morality to crime, from punishment here to that in the life to come, and our Prophet (S.A.V) has enjoined on us that every Musalman should possess a copy of the Quran and be his own priest. Therefore Islam is not merely confined to the spiritual tenets and doctrines or rituals and ceremonies. It is a complete code regulating the whole Muslim society, every department of life, collective and individually.

We maintain that the right of self determination of Musalmans is their birthright, and we have definitely decided that in order to secure our freedom and live with honour and self respect, there is only one solution of the problem of this great sub-continent, and that is that we should be free to establish Pakistan in our homelands in all those Provinces where the Musalmans are dominant,—the North-West and the North.East zones of India. This means freedom to both Hindus and Muslims, and the Hindus should likewise have the same position in Hindustan which will give them three fourths of this sub-continent and what is more, the best part of India.

We are now face to face with the general elections under the present Constitution, and the results will have a very vital bearing upon our dertermination to establish Pakistan. The elections will be fought on the issue of Pakistan or Akhand Hindustan, and the Muslim verdict, as far as it can be ascertained by the present machinery and electorate, will have a

far-reaching significance and effect, and therefore I hope that the Musalmans will stand solid and united and vindicate our national character and demand and maintain the honour and prestige of the Muslim League that has served Muslim India for the last seven years ceaselessly in every department of life. We have declared and made it clear that we are ready and willing to do all we can to put an end to any foreign domination and not allow the prolongation of the bonds of slavery of Musalmans and other inhabitants of this sub-continent. We do not want anyone under any pretext or an attractive label to talk now of an interim National Government or emergency National Central Government. We want to, and there is no reason why we should not, tackle permanently and finally the constitution problem and settle it once and for all on the basis of Pakistan, and the sooner it is done the nearer shall we be to the freedom and the independence of the peoples inhabiting this great land.

"In the end I appeal to every Musalman to concentrate every ounce of energy on the forthcoming elections and demonstrate to the world that we are an organized and disciplined nation. No sacrifice should be considered too great for the achievement of this object. I therefore urge upon every Musalman that he should be prepared to suffer and sacrifice all, if need be, his individual interest: convenience and ambition for collective good and for our national cause at this critical juncture.

"Once again I wish you all a happy I'd, and I pray and hope that the time is not far off when we shall celebrate our I'd in a free and independent Pakistan."

QAP-F-1022/pp.64-66 &

The Dawn, September 11, 1945.

743

Statement on the situation in Kashmir, Karachi, September 11, 1945.

"I have been receiving communications from very reliable sources that the situation in Kashmir is very serious indeed since Sir B. N. Rao, the former Premier, left the State service.

"I have made very strong representation to the Viceroy already as far back as August 22, 1945, and I do hope that immediate steps will be taken by the Paramount Power to intervene and hold an inquiry into the recent occurrences in Kashmir which have resulted in bloodshed and the ruthless measure of oppression and suppression that have been adopted by the Kashmir Government against the people and the press. From all accounts that I have received, there does not exist in Kashmir any freedom of thought or speech. I assume that immediately after the return of Lord Wavell, he will send me his reply, which will probably be not long delayed." (A.P.I.)

QAP-F-1022/p.69 &

The Dawn, September 12, 1945.

744

Statement explaining the procedure of allotments of League Tickets, Quetta, September 15, 1945.

"With regard to the forthcoming elections there is some confusion in the minds of some people and I want to clarify it. First there are many people who have written to me and sent

me telegrams asking me to give them the Muslim League ticket. Our rules and regulations are quite clear. This is the function of the provincial parliamentary boards as far elections to the provincial assemblies are concerned and any one whose application is rejected by the Provincial Parliamentary Board has a right to appeal to the Central Parliamentary Board and I cannot interfere with the functions and duties of these two boards who will select candidates and the decision of the Central Parliamentary Board will be final.

Further so far as the Central Legislature is concerned it is the Central Parliamentary Board which is vested with powers to deal with applications that may be made to them by prospective candidates and an appeal lies from their decision to the working committee of All India Muslim League.

Secondly a point has also been raised in some quarters that whether after the assemblies are dissolved the member of the Provincial Parliamentary Boards which is to be elected by the Parliamentary party would be in order. In my opinion the dissolution of the Assembly cannot affect our rules and regulation by which the Parliamentary party is constituted as one of the electorate's and is authorised to choose one of its members to the Provincial Board as an electorate under our rules. They are therefore entitled to do so notwithstanding the dissolution of the Assembly or Assemblies in the various provinces.(A.P.I.)

The Dawn, September 16, 1945.

745

Statement regarding Indians who went over to enemy, Quetta, September 15, 1945.

"I am glad to learn from the notification issued in the press that the Government of India is considering at present very carefully the treatment to be given to the Indian soldiers who had joined the enemy, and I hope that they will be dealt with leniency becoming a victor and that justice will be tempered with mercy.

"The Muslim League and myself will do the utmost to promote the interest of Indian soldiers who have fought so heroically—men and officers of all ranks—in their demobilisation, and thereafter when they come back to their homes, as they will in short time."(A.P.I.)

QAP-F-1022/p.71 &

The Dawn, September 16, 1945.

746

Statement regarding broadcast of Lord Wavell, Quetta, September 20, 1945.

Commenting on the Wavell broadcast, Mr. M. A. Jinnah said; "I have heard the broadcat of Lord Wavell on radio as well as that of Mr. Attlee, British Prime Minister, regarding the policy of His Majesty's Government with reference to constitutional problems of India. I would like to examine it in cold print and we shall have to carefully consider various points that are indicated by them.

"But one thing is clear" continued Mr. Jinnah, "that no attempt will succeed except on the basis of Pakistan and that is the major issue to be decided by all those who are well-wishers of India and who are really in earnest to achieve real freedom and independence of India and the sooner it is fully realised, the better."

The division of India is the only solution of this most complex constitutional problem of India and this is the road to happiness, prosperity, welfare and freedom of 400 millions inhabiting this sub-continent," Mr. Jinnah concluded.

The Dawn, September 21, 1945.

747

Speech at a Meeting of Representatives of various Muslim Bodies, Quetta, September 24, 1945.

We have succeeded in having an elected Municipal Committee for the Quetta city. Today there is a representative of Baluchistan in the Central Legislature although he is not the elected representative of the people nor selected with their approval, but it shows that the principle has been accepted by the Government. The Government has been made to realize that Baluchistan must have her voice in the Centre, and let us hope that soon your own elected representative will sit in the Central Assembly.

Mr. Jinnah exhorted his audience not to slacken their activity, and assured them of his own and the All-India Muslim League's pressure on the Government of India for Baluchistan and appealed to them to stand united and to organize the Muslims of Baluchistan so that they could stand on their own feet.

Non-League Muslims

Answering a question as to what he proposed to do at this critical moment to bring round the non-League Muslim organizations, such as the Ahrars, Jamiat-ul-Ulema and the Khaksars, Mr. Jinnah said that during the last three weeks he had appealed a number of times both through the press and on the platform to all the Muslims to join the League at this critical moment in the history of the Muslim nation, and many had already come and were still coming into the League fold. They had left the Congress and Government service.But those, who were dishonest, for them there was no remedy. If anybody disagreed with the League policy let him convince him and the League that the League policy was detrimental to the interests of the Muslims.

Muslim Peasantry and Labour

In reply to another question as to what the League proposed to do with regard to improving and ameliorating the conditions of the Muslim peasantry and labour, Mr. Jinnah said: "I am not in possession of any Aladin's Lamp. The problem will have to be tackled carefully and will take time. The Committee of Action are considering the question and soon their report will be considered by the All India Muslim League and the recommendations will be carried out and the League will do its utmost in its power to help the lot of the poor."

Mr. Jinnah expressed the hope that the Muslims would pay attention to the education, commerce and business and make up the leeway.

Shia Association Joins League

The Secretary of the local Shia Association then declared the Association's decision to join the Muslim League. Thanking the Secretary of the Association, Mr. Jinnah said that it was a pity that some Muslims were making false allegations against the Muslim League. Whether a Muslim was a Sunni,Shia or

Wahabi or Sufi, all believed in one God, one Book and one Prophet, and hence the Musalmans could not remain divided.

Mr. Jinnah assured the labour leaders that the League was a mass organisation and everybody had to bow before the masses.(A.P.I.)

The Dawn, September 25, 1945.

748

Statement repudiating Mazhar Ali and Mashriqi's charges, Quetta, September 24, 1945.

"My attention has been drawn to some of the reports of the speeches made by Mr. Mazhar Ali Azhar and Mr. Mashriqi, published in some of the Hindu papers on the 17th and 18th respectively.

It is not only painful and regrettable that they have stooped to such a low depth of meanness in as much as they are directed to show that I am not a Mussalman, out the allegations made by them in their speeches against me and my private life are tissues of falsehood.

"It seems that they had no other argument against the creed, policy and programme of the Muslim League and our stand for which we are carrying on the struggle but to resort to this mean practice in spreading this falsehood regarding me with a view to excite fanaticism and passions of some Musalmans.

"I am sure that no Mussalman who has even a grain of common sense would believe in such vile, reckless and false allegations against me which are sought to be broadcast in the Hindu press."(A.P.I)

The Dawn, September 25, 1945.

749

Released to the Press, the telegrams that passed between him and the Chairman, Muslim League, Bethal (S. Africa), Quetta, September 26, 1945.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League has released to the Press the following telegrams that have passed between Mr. Ismail Dawood Coovadia Chairman Muslim League, Bethal, (South Africa) and Mr. Jinnah:-

Telegram from Mr. Ismail Dawood Coovadia, dated Bethal, the 18th September:-

"Anxious to be fully informed if Congress accepted Pakistan. In forthcoming elections it is our greatest desire to see the success of your life's endeavour and we wish to subscribe for the election campaign Fund if necessary. All South African Muslims behind you.:

Telegram from Mr. Jinnah dated Quetta/the 26th of September, 1945.

Many thanks your telegram support encouragement Muslim League me. Congress definitely against Pakistan. We shall have to struggle and fight for it." - Jinnah.

QAP-F-810/p.134

750

Cable sent to Mr. Attlee, Prime Minister of Britain, regarding Palestine Immigration, Mastung, October 2, 1945.

President Truman's reported Palestine immigration proposal is unwarranted, encroaching upon another

country,monstrous and highly unjust. Any departure from the White Paper and Britain's pledge will not only be sacrilege and a breach of faith with Muslim India but an acid test of British honour.It is my duty to inform you that any surrender to appease Jewry at the sacrifice of Arabs would be deeply resented and vehemently resisted by the Muslim world and Muslim India and its consequences will be most disastrous."(A.P.I.)

The Dawn, October 3, 1945.

751

Speech in reply to an Address presented by the students of Ahmedyar High School, Mastung, October 7, 1945.

"Pakistan is the only solution of India's constitutional problem and the only way for both the Hindus and Muslims of India to live honourably and independently," said Mr. M. A Jinnah President of the All India Muslim League replying to address of welcome presented to him by the students of the Ahmedyar High School Mastung, in Kalat state, where he is staying as a guest of the Khan of Kalat.

Mr. Jinnah added," With your support and Prayer and the help of Allah, *inshaallah*, we shall have Pakistan for which we are fighting in British India."

Stressing the need of education for Muslims, Mr. Jinnah said. " My advice to you is that you should educate your people as no nation can make any progress without it. I am glad to find that Muslims are awake and up and doing all over India and even in a remote town like Mastung, every Muslim now realizes that he must play his part in the national struggle"

The Dawn, October 8, 1945.

752

Statement regarding Indonesians' struggle for independence, Mastung, October 12, 1945.

"The All-India Muslim League and myself whole-heartedly support Indonesians' struggle for independence" thus observed Mr. M.A. Jinnah in a statement to the Orient Press.

Mr. Jinnah continues "The Dutch Domination and Imperialism must come to an end like any other foreign domination and imperialism over other countries. Or else this terrible war would have been fought in vain and there will be no peace until the so called 'Civilized Big' do not give up their Imperialism, lust and exploitation of other smaller nations and countries."

Mr. Jinnah has received the following telegram from the President, Indonesian Association for Independence, Cairo.

"Indonesian Muslim Republic proclaims your support necessary."

Another telegram from the Indonesian Association, Briobane says "on behalf of all Indonesians Muslims, we hope you to give full support to the Indonesian Republics. Greeting."

The Dawn, October 13, 1945.

753

Speech at a public meeting held under the auspices of the Baluchistan Muslim League at Quetta, October 16, 1945.

Mr. Jinnah made his first appearance in public since his arrival in Baluchistan at a largely attended public meeting held

under the auspices of the Baluchistan Muslim League. Qazi Muhammad Isa President of the Baluchistan Provincial Muslim League presided.

At the outset Mr. Jinnah told his audience that his visit to Baluchistan in 1943 was motivated with the object of studying conditions in Baluchistan. He talked to the people, listened to their demands and also spoke to then Agent to the Governor General, Sir Aubrey Metcalf, about the grievances of the Baluchistan people.

"I am glad," said Mr. Jinnah, "that the Mussalmans of Baluchistan are now seriously thinking about vital matters, i.e. how to live the life of freedom and free from subjugation. Your administration is political and semi military and they are incapable of appreciating people's feelings and civil rights and the province is being governed with rules and regulations which are foreign in every respect.

"It was to obtain a change for the better that I advised you, during my last visit, to put your pressure on the local Government and assured you of my and my party's full assistance at the Centre. I am glad that with our efforts the Government has been compelled to make departure from the old order and certain changes in the form of an elected Municipality, a representative in the Central Legislature and more money for education have been made through these reforms. These are very meagre, but the principle has been accepted and we shall have to continue our struggle for more and to send an elected representative to the centre rather than a nominated one.

Congress And Baluchistan

Continuing Mr. Jinnah said: "The Muslim League is now a force and the Government cannot ignore its demands for you by the League and further whatsoever is to be done will be secured by the Muslim League.

"May I know what the Congress agents in Baluchistan have done for you? In the Assembly the Congress remained silent on the Baluchistan issues. The Congress is a Hindu body and how could the Baluchistan issue interest them when it is a predominantly Muslim province".

Mr. Jinnah said that his doctors' advice for rest had brought him to Baluchistan for the second time but when the wishes of the people to listen to him were conveyed, he had to yield to the demand of the people for, he declared, his life was for their service only.

Mr. Jinnah proceeding said: " with unity in all ranks of the Mussalmans, Baluchistan now occupies an important position in All-India affairs. It is now not possible to misrepresent the voice of any Muslim province because the voice about Muslim interests is raised only by the All-India Muslim League, which is the sole representative body of the Muslims of India.

"Those Muslims who are in the lap of Hindu bodies are very few and their number is fast decreasing because Muslims will never accept Hindu Raj.

League's Position

"I appeal to Muslims to vote for the League, for it is the paramount issue on which we are fighting the elections. Personal rivalries and jealousies must be kept aside. Prepare yourself to make all sacrifices for the collective good in order to raise your head before the people of free nations.

"What does it matter if you are not given the League ticket? After all how many members are to be sent? But for your future good you all should work as disciplined soldiers in the service of Islam.

"I may also make it clear to you that the Congress is carrying on false propaganda in the press, which is in the hands

of the Hindus, that the Muslim League is a body of Nawabs, Knights and Kothiwalas, etc., etc., and that the Jamiat-ul-ulemas, Ahrars, Momins, etc., are not with the League.

"This they can tell to insane persons. In official documents, the government has recognised that the Muslim League is the sole representative body of Muslim India.

"Those who believe in the policy and programme of the Muslim League are most welcome. There are no barriers for Kothiwalas to enter the League. It is open to all Muslims and those who are zealous workers, whether Nawabs or others, can hold the key."

Gandhi "Advocate of False-hood"

Proceeding further, Mr. Jinnah said: " The Congress in foreign countries is carrying propaganda as the sole body of political opinion in India, but the results of the coming elections will open the eyes of the people against this falsehood."

Mr.Jinnah said: " Mr. Gandhi, who professes to be the custodian of truth, is in fact an advocate of falsehood (cheers). Who is prepared to believe that people like Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Nehru do not understand Pakistan? I ask them, if they do not understand what Pakistan is, what then have they rejected and against what are they carrying on propaganda day and night (More cheers).

"In fact, they are afraid of dividing or cutting '*Bharat Mata*.' They want to keep the Muslims in the Hindu Raj in order to give them a fate similar to the Jews in Germany. If you Muslims don't like that behaviour you all can now go to Arabia.

"But I know that Muslims can never remain under Hindu Raj and that the experiences of 200 years of British domination are enough to make them dread Hindu domination and, hence, our demand for Pakistan is the only solution of the ills which India suffers.

"We are accused of having made no sacrifices for our goal. I am afraid we cannot contribute that sorts of sacrifice to which the Congress seems accustomed.

"In order to obtain leadership, to sit like a goat under the police lathi charge, then to go to jail, then to complain loss of weight and then to manage release. (Loud laughter).

"I do not believe in that sort of struggle, but, when the time for suffering comes, I will be the first to get bullet shots in my chest.

"The main object was to get the League ignored and to bring some trouble on me and Lord Wavell. They were licking his feet to install them in the *gaddi*'. This was the state of affairs then.

"Where is the 'Quit India' resolution? The main object of the Congress is to grab power by getting the '*gaddi*' and then to crush the Muslims with British bayonets.

"However, our demand for Pakistan is clear. The areas in which Muslims are numerically in a majority should be grouped to constitute an independent State."

The Eastern Times, October 18, 1945.

Another Version

"Mr. Gandhi who professes to be the custodian of truth is in fact an advocate of falsehood. Who is prepared to believe that people like Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Nehru do not understand Pakistan? I ask them: if they do not understand what Pakistan is, what then have they rejected and against what are they carrying on propaganda, day and night?

"In fact they are afraid of the dividing or cutting of "*Bharat Mata*". They want to keep the Muslims in the Hindu raj in order to give them a fate similar to the Jews in Germany. But

I know that Muslims can never remain under the Hindu raj and that the experiences of 200 years' British domination are enough to make one dread Hindu domination, and hence our demand of Pakistan, which is the only solution of the ills from which India suffers.

League Achievement

"We got four things. Firstly, a representative of Baluchistan was taken in the Central Legislature, secondly, an elected Municipal Committee for Quetta was agreed to, thirdly nine lakhs of rupees were sanctioned for education, fourthly, the Government of India promised that after the war a Commission with a majority of non-officials would be appointed and sent to Baluchistan to make recommendations with regard to reforms to be introduced in the Province. All this was done within one year which nobody even dreamt of before. What was it that made the Government agree to all this? There is only one answer and that is that the Muslim League was a power which the Government could not ignore.

Government Cannot Ignore League

"The Muslim League is now a force and the Government cannot ignore its demands. All this is achieved for you by the League and further whatsoever is to be done will be secured by the Muslim League. May I know what the Congress agents in Baluchistan have done for you. In the Assembly the Congress remained silent on the Baluchistan issues and so did the European members in that House. The Congress is a Hindu body and how could the Baluchistan issue intrest them when it is a predominantly Muslim province?

Propaganda Centers

The League organization had performed a miracle within a few years and the Muslims were organised as they had never been before during the last 200 years. Today the League is the only authoritative and representative organisation of the

Muslims. The Hindus know it and the British Government realise it, and by the grace of God hope is increasing day by day. You must have heard that a branch of the League has been formed in Britain. I have also received intimation from America that a Muslim League has been formed there which is functioning regularly.

Mr. Jinnah said that his doctor's advice for rest brought him to Baluchistan the second time, but when the wishes of the people to listen to him were conveyed he had to yield to the demands of the people for, he declared, his life was for their service only.

"With unity in all ranks of Musalmans, Baluchistan now occupies an important position in the all-India affairs. It is now not possible to misrepresent the voice of any Muslim province because the voice about Muslim interests is raised only by the All-India Muslim League which is the sole representative body of the Muslims of India. Those Muslims who are in the lap of the Hindu bodies are very few and their number is fast decreasing because Muslims will never accept the Hindu raj. I appeal to Muslims to vote for the League, for it is the paramount issue on which we are fighting the elections. Personal rivalries and jealousies must be kept aside and prepare yourself to make all sacrifice for the collective good in order to raise your head before the people of free nations. What does it matter if you are not given the League ticket. After all, how many members are to be sent. But for your future good you all should work as disciplined soldiers in the service of Islam.

Anti-League Propaganda

"I may also clear to you that the Congress is carrying false propaganda in the press, which is in the hands of the Hindus, that the Muslim League is a body of Nawabs, Knights and Kothiwalas, etc, and that the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Ahrars, Momins etc. are not with the League. This they can tell to insane persons. In official documents the Government has

recognised that the Muslim League is the sole representative body of Muslim India. Those who believe in the policy and programme of the Muslim League are most welcome. There are no barriers for Kothiwalas to enter the League. It is open to all Muslims and those who are zealous workers, whether Nawabs or others, can hold the key.

"The League is a democratic organisation and any Muslim who agrees to Pakistan and is above 18 years of age and declares to abide by the creed and policy of the League is eligible to become a member and I cannot stop him. It is a mass organisation and the masses hold the key in their hands. If you do not want anybody you can kick him off within 24 hours. The power, the real power lies with you.

"The Congress in foreign countries is carrying on propaganda as the sole body of political opinion in India, but the results of the coming elections will open the eyes of the people against this falsehood.

What is Sacrifice

"We are accused of having made no sacrifices for our goal, I am afraid we cannot contribute that sort of sacrifice to which the Congress seems accustomed—to obtain leadrship, to sit like goat under the police 'lathi' charge, then to go to jail, then to complain of loss of weight and then to manage release (loud laughter). I do not believe in that sort of struggle, but when the time for suffering comes, I will be the first to get the bullet shots in my chest.

"We are also accused of being tools of British Government, but the Simla Conference should open the eyes of those who have listened to such accusation against us. May I know from the Congress where is their 'Quit India' resolution? Why the Congress stooped to a position of humiliation in Simla telling Lord Wavell: 'Sir, you are our leader (laughter). We will run your Executive Council (renewed laughter)?' The main

object was to get the League ignored and to bring some trouble to me and Lord Wavell. They were licking his feet to install them in '*gaddi*'. this was the state of affairs then. Where is the 'Quit India' resoulution? the main object of the Congress is to grab power by getting the '*gaddi*' and then to crush the Muslims with British bayonets!

Congress Manoeuvres

"All their moves and motives and love for Wavell was for one purpose and that was that the League should be ignored and that the Congress be given a majority in the Executive Council and two seats from the Muslim seats. Even the Rashtrapati whose name is Azad wrote a letter saying that if he was asked to accept a seat on the Council he would do so. For thirty years they have been crying *Purna Swaraj* and taking solemn oaths every year for independence, but where were they all? But now when they have failed they have begun to abuse the League and Lord Wavell also. This is their usual game. If you do not yield to them or refuse to be cheated they abuse you. When the Labour government was formed in England, Rashtrapati sent a telegram to Mr. Attlee congratulating him, but when Lord Wavell went to London and came back with his proposals and announced the British policy, the Congress press and leaders began to abuse the British Government saying that they were worse than Tories. Why are they abusing people like this? There is only one answer. It is all political blackmail to bring pressure upon the British Government to ignore Muslim League. All this will go on till Lord Wavell agrees to seat them on the *gaddi* that is what they want. But they will never face facts and agree that the League represents the Muslims.

"However, our demand of Pakistan is clear. The areas in which Muslims are numerically in a majority should be grouped to constitute an independent State.

"Pandit Nehru has again started his mass contact. He will get some Muslims here and there and push them using

money and the strong press that they have at their disposal. If they want to oppose the League, let them put up Muslim candidates on Congress tickets and bravely come forward. Then if the Muslims' verdict is against Pakistan I will stand down. But I am confident that Muslims will not vote for *Akhand Hindustan* and that the League will sweep the polls.

Stand United By Pakistan

It is not a question of who is going to be Premier and Minister or who gets into the Assembly. After all how many ministries are there or even how many seats? The Muslim League has set up its own tribunals and, may be, some people are dissatisfied with their final decision. But this is not a time for fighting. When once a decision has been taken all should undertake to vote for the official League candidates, You cannot serve your people sitting on the floor of the House or making a very beautiful speech there. I am confident that Muslims will stand united and demonstrate to the world that every one of them stands for Pakistan.

Hands Off Indonesia

Mr. Jinnah then switched on to the Palestine affairs and Indonesian struggle for freedom and said: "Jews are also suffering from the same disease as the Congress. Over half a million Jews have already been accommodated in Jerusalem against the wishes of the people. May I know which other country has accommodated them? I have great sympathy for them and have no ill-will against the Jews but the question is that they have entered Palestine with a set motive to reconquer Jerusalem (which they lost 2,000 years ago) with the help of British and American forces. I hope the Jews will not succeed in their nefarious designs and I wish Great Britain and America should keep their hands off from there and then I will see how the Jews conquer Jerusalem. Every man and woman of Muslim world will die before Jewry seizes Jerusalem. Slaves and a subject race as we are still our hearts and souls go in sympathy

with those who are struggling for their freedom and let us hope that the people of Palestine and Indonesians will survive their ordeals. Subjugation and exploitation, if carried now, there will be no peace and no end of wars. And if such exploitation of small nations is to continue even after this bloody war then let us pray to God to send some more destructive force than atomic bomb to do the work and job of this world."

(A.P.I. & O.P.I.)

The Dawn, October 17-18, 1945.

754

Speech at a meeting held under the auspices of Baluchistan Muslim Students Federation, Quetta, October 18, 1945.

"I have no doubt in my mind that if the elections are allowed to be held as free and fair elections, unhampered by manoeuvres and machinations, either on the part of the officials or the Congress, we shall have an overwhelming majority of Muslims in favour of Pakistan.

"I see that forces are working against us and the Congress is determined, by hook or by crook, to create distruption among the Musalmans with the help of those Muslims who, I am sorry to say, are not with us but with our enemies, and are being used by them for the purpose of misleading the Musalmans, as decoyed birds because they are Hindus in all respects except in name and form. No doubt the Congres has money, powerful organization and press, but right is with us, God is with us and *Inshaallah* we shall win.

"Similarly in the Punjab particularly there is a body of people, although they are insignificant both in number and

position, but they have a hidden hand behind them, and this small number of people is an instrument—I have no hesitation in saying this—in the hands of Governor Glancy and the bureaucracy, who are going to do their very worst against the Muslim League and will not mind to lose anything or to leave any stone unturned in order to see that the League is defeated. But I am sure that they are miscalculating and, in spite of enormous difficulties in their way, the Punjab Muslims will not fail.

"So far as the Congress is concerned I am really surprised at their mentality. Pandit Nehru says, it is reported in the press, that during the August 1942 disturbances the Muslim League—he does not say the Musalmans—remained aloof from the disturbances. It was Muslim India to a man which remained aloof, and I am proud that they followed the lead given by the Muslim League to the letter. Was this wrong? Are we to be blamed for it? When Pandit Nehru and the Congress leaders met at Birla House in Bombay, which is not far from my house on the Malabar Hill, in August 1942 and drafted the resolution, and when it was placed before the All-India Congress Committee, may I remined Pandit Nehru of what he said in supporting the resolution? He said that the League was 'a reactionary body and Muslims were all with the Congress and the world will see that they follow the lead of the Congress."

They say, they do not understand Pakistan. If you do not understand it, then what is it that you are opposing? On the contrary, I find that even a child of 12 or 13 understands it. When I see Muslim boys shouting for Pakistan, I very often enquire from them as to what Pakistan is, and believe me, I am not exaggerating, they give me perfect answers.

Mr. Jinnah then related that he met a boy of 12 at Karachi and described how he answered to the various questions and added: "Even Muslim children understand it, but here is this great leader, a great internationalist, who says he does not

understand Pakistan! Pakistan means partition, Pakistan means division, it means you must take Hindu provinces of yours and leave out Muslim provinces where we want to establish our own Government. All these pretensions, all these excuses are simply to confound, confound, and confound. Why don't you say plainly instead of going round and round. We want to take Pakistan as soon as we can, and *Inshaalah* we shall have Pakistan.

"Nehru thought that the Muslims were as ignorant as in the past and they believed they would stampede the Muslims as they did before, not once but more than once. The appeal which stirred the Muslims in 1921 and 1930-31, and which the Muslims responded to, was for our freedom and independence. They joined these movements and made greatest of sacrifices, as you all know, and Hindus thought they could bamboozle the Muslims the third time. You can fool once or twice, but not three times. What was it we were asked to do? We were asked to support what? To join this struggle for what? To demand Akhand Hindustan? The resolution for which you demanded our support and sacrifice, demanded unitary Central Government and a Constituent Assembly to frame the constitution of India. How can you expect the Muslims to support you? Any decent and honest Muslim, who has a grain of common sense, would never support this highly inimical resolution. After very careful consideration at Bombay we decided that it was detrimental to the Musalmans, and, therefore, we asked them to stand aloof. I asked Pandit Nehru to accept the Pakistan resolution and then see who makes the greatest sacrifice.

Mr. Jinnah referred to the prevalent conditions in Baluchistan as mentioned in the welcome address presented by the Federation, and said that he had found that there was a tremendous awakening amongst the Muslims and the students of Baluchistan, and expressed the hope that their demand would be met by the Government. Characterising the Baluchistan administration as semi-military and political, Mr. Jinnah

advised them to press on their demands continuously till they were conceded.

Dealing with the question whether the students should take part in politics or not, Mr. Jinnah opined that they must study politics but that they should treat its study as a part of their education. He said that if they were prevented by the Government from doing so it would not be good for the Government itself.

At the outset Mr. Jinnah stated: "The first and the foremost question that we are facing today is that of the forthcoming elections and they have a vital bearing at this particular moment. It is going to be a test. Don't think it is the only or the final test, but it is going to be a test having regard to franchise and constitution as they are today. We want the verdict of the electorate, such as it is constituted, of Muslims, whether they want Pakistan or whether they want to live here as an abject minority under the Hindu raj, and this will be decided by obtaining the verdict of the electorate." (O.P.I.)

The Dawn, October 19, 1945.

755

Address to the Muslim League Workers at the Railway Station, Shikarpur, October 20, 1945.

Mr. Sikander Ali Shaikh, Secretary of Shikarpur Muslim League, on receipt of an intimation from Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, that he would be passing from Shikarpur station on October 20, on his way to Karachi and would be glad to meet the League workers at the station, arranged for a rousing reception to the League leader.

Addressing them, Mr. Jinnah stated that the election to the assemblies would take place shortly and the Muslim League

was the only organization which could claim to represent the Muslim masses in the right sense. He exhorted them to vote for the Muslim League nominees and see that they were returned in thumping majority in the Assemblies. Referring to the differences which have taken place between the members of the Sind League Parliamentary Board, Mr. Jinnah said that there was Central Parliamentary Board and any candidate who was not given ticket by the Sind Parliamentary Board would appeal to the Central Body which had come to Karachi.

Proceeding further Mr. Jinnah said that in Sind elections would be fought with all their might as this province was the gateway of Pakistan. He emphasised that election from the Shikarpur Muslim Constituency would be very crucial as it would be the test to show the strength of the League power in Sind and he asked them to prepare themselves for that trial. He asked them whether they wanted Pakistan or Akhand Hindustan to which the audience replied that they wanted Pakistan. At this he told them that it should be then their duty to go in the villages to carry on the League propaganda and see that the League candidates were declared successful at the ensuing Assembly elections.

The Daily Gazette, October 23, 1945.

756

Statement to the Associated Press of India regarding situation in Sind, Karachi, October 22, 1945.

"I have come here to see what is happening. I cannot say when I shall be able to leave Karachi but I shall see the Sind affairs through."

The Dawn, October 23, 1945.

757

Speech in reply to an Address presented by the Youngmen's Khatri Association, Karachi, October 22, 1945.

Thanking them for the purse and address, Mr. Jinnah stated that the selection of candidates for the legislature would be made by the Provincial Parliamentary Board against whose decision, there was an appeal to the Central Parliamentary Board. The Central Board was just at present in Karachi and its members would be fair and just to the candidats in making the selection. Mr. Jinnah urged candidates not selected by the Board not to feel piqued about it, but to continue to serve the community in some other way.

Mr. Jinnah was confident that the Muslim League would capture all the seats in Sind, and exhorted the audience to support the League candidates. He commended to them the reply he received from a crowd at Shikarpur station on his way to Karachi that they would return even a monkey if the League put him up as a candidate.

Mr. Jinnah further stated that the present elections were a matter of life and death for the Muslims. They were surrounded by the enemy who was keen to breach their ranks and if the Muslims were not alert, the talisman of Pakistan would slip by them.

Premiership and ministerships were subsidiary questions. The main question was that of winning the elections. And if they failed, blacksheeps among them would elevate themselves to the office with the help of the Hindus. He urged them to cease thinking in terms of Baluchs, Syeds, Pathans and Memons and Khojas and think themselves as one nation. Muslims had one God, one Prophet, one Book and if they became one Nation, they would be able to achieve the goal of Pakistan earlier than they expected.

The Daily Gazette, October 23, 1945.

758

Interview to the Associated Press of India explaining League's view to the Indonesian Freedom Movement, Karachi, October 23, 1945.

The All-India Muslim League's views and attitude towards the Indonesian movement and defence of the members of the Indian National Army were defined by Mr. M. A. Jinnah in an interview.

"Our support and sympathy will go to the Indonesians who are struggling for their freedom and it will be a tragedy if Holland sets up again her imperialism there. We are in full sympathy with all those countries who are fighting and struggling for freedom and put an end to domination, exploitation and imperialism of any other country or nation."

Ready to co-operate with Others

"The Muslim League will not lag behind any other organisation or party in this country. When any action becomes necessary, the Muslim League will be ready to join hands with any other organisation and party to do all they can to translate their sympathy for those other countries that are struggling for their freedom."

Referring to the Indian National Army, Mr. Jinnah said, that he had already defined the policy and attitude of the Muslim League and he only hoped that other parties and organisations would not keep on harping on the slogan that it was not a communal question. "I advisedly and deliberately said in referring to those who are now going to be tried or dealt with as Indians in my previous statement," continued Mr. Jinnah, "and yet I find in some responsible quarters that communal colour is given to our full sympathy for the officers and the men of the National Army.

Help to I.N.A. Men

"The Punjab Provincial Muslim League has already taken up this matter to render these men every possible help irrespective of the question of any caste, colour or community and I hope that the Muslim League will do all that lies in its power.

"Further I made it clear that we shall equally do our best for those who will be demobilised and for those families and relations of those who are unfortunately no more with us." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, October 24, 1945.

759

Statement on Sardar Baldev Singh's allegation, Karachi, October 23, 1945.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah characterised as absolutely untrue the story that he had refused to travel in a taxi driven by a Sikh driver when he was moving down from Simla.

Mr. Jinnah who was replying to a statement of Sardar Baldev Singh, a Punjab Minister, said that far from refusing a Sikh driver's taxi, he deliberately chose the taxi and the Sikh driver and he (Mr. Jinnah) was pleased with him.

Mr. Jinnah added: "That a man in the position that Sardar Baldev Singh occupies should have made this false allegation without ascertaining the facts is really deplorable and it is calculated to excite the passions of the Sikh community for whom I have had and have the greatest admiration as a community. During the Simla Conference and after, I have had very friendly talks with many Sikh leaders.

About Pakistan

Referring to Sardar Baldev Singh's argument against Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah said: "They are nothing but a rehearse of the familiar Punjab Hindu press which had made its business to distort and misrepresent us and there is nothing new in them except that he has shown a great deal of want of knowledge to understand the problem.

"I do not think Sardar Baldev Singh realises the constitutional and political meaning of the expression 'sub-national group' which I have certainly used and which applies equally to Musalmans and other non-Hindus in different parts of this sub-continent. I do urge upon him to approach the question of settlement between the Sikhs and Musalmans dispassionately and in a fair and friendly manner. (A.P.I.)

QAP-F-1022/p.193

& The Dawn, October 24, 1945.

760

Statement disallowing all appeals made against the decision made by the Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board, Karachi, October 24, 1945.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League has disallowed all appeals and confirmed the decision made by the Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board in regard to the nomination of League candidates for the general election to the Central Legislative Assembly.

Rejecting the appeals of six applicants who had not been selected by the Central Parliamentary Board as League candidates, Mr. Jinnah in a statement to the Press says: "The following appeals against the selection made by the Central Parliamentary Board of the candidates were received, I: Pir Tajuddin, Bar-at-Law Gujrat and Rawalpindi Division Constituency. 2. Mr. N. Muhammad Anwar, North Madras Constituency. 3. Mr. A. K. Sharfuddin, South Madras Constituency. 4. Mr. Abdul Majeed Gheewala, Bombay Presidency Southern Division Constituency. 5. Mr. Abdul Majeed Tungekar, Bombay Presidency Southern Division Constituency. 6. Mr. Taqi Hadi, Rohilkhund and Kumaon Division Constituency, U.P.

Rule 2 of the Rules and Regulations of the Muslim League provides the right of appeal within seven days in those cases only where the Central Parliamentary Board makes a selection outside the names recommended by the Provincial Parliamentary Board. The only candidates who are entitled to the right of appeal are those, whose names have been recommended by the Provincial Parliamentary Board, but rejected by the Central Parliamentary Board and when a selection is made outside the names recommended by the Provincial Board. Therefore in the case of the first three constituencies in the above list, no appeal lies under the rules, against the decision of the Central Parliamentary Board, as they have selected candidates from the list recommended by the Provincial Parliamentary Boards.

Why Apeals cannot be Accepted

As regards the appeal against the selection of Mr. Ahmed E. H. Jaffer for the Bombay Presidency Southern Division Constituency, there are two appellants. One is Mr. Abdul Majeed Gheewala and the other is Mr. Abdul Majeed Tungekar. I have considered this case carefully and I find no sufficient grounds to reverse the decision of the Central

Parliamentary Board, I therefore, confirm their decision and disallow the appeals.

As regards the appeal against Hafiz Ghazanfarullah by Mr. Taqi Hadi, I received the latter's telegram on October 23, informing me, "appeal filed against selection of Hafiz Ghazanfarullah Rohilkhund. Pray allow nomination pending decision. Nomination date twentysix:" I regret, I cannot comply with this request, as I have not yet received his appeal, as indicated in the telegram in any form whatsoever.

The only other case where an appeal lies is the case of Mr. Yusuf Haroon, who has been selected by the Central Parlimentary Board from Sind, as the Provincial Board had failed to submit any list and his selection was, therefore, made by the Central Parliamentary Board on their own responsibility, but no appeal has been filed against this case by anybody although the decision of the Board was announced on October 10, 1945.

In the end I am confident that the candidates who have not been selected will loyally abide by the final decision and according to their pledge of honour, in spite of the fact that they are not selected, will support whole-heartedly the candidates that have been finally chosen by the All-India Muslim League, and maintain the discipline, prestige and honour of our national organisation. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, October 25, 1945.

761

Statement disallowing the appeal of S.M. Taqi Hadi for the ticket of Central Assembly election, Karachi, October 25, 1945.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, has issued the following statement to the Press:-

"I have now received the appeal of S.M. Taqi Hadi in the matter of selection of Hafiz Mohammad Ghazanfarullah for the membership of the Central Assembly from the Rohilkhund and Kumaon Division, U.P. I have carefully considered the grounds of his appeal and they disclose no justification for my interference with the decision of the Central Parliamentary Board. I therefore confirm the decision of the Central Parliamentary Board and disallow the appeal."

QAP-F-810/p.127

762

Speech at a Public Meeting, Karachi, October 25, 1945.

Addressing a large Muslim gathering of the workers and labourers at Lyari Mr. Jinnah said: "It has been suggested that the Muslim League is an organisation of Nawabs and titleholders. It is a lie. It is true that there are a few Nawabs and Khan Bahadurs in the organisation, but the Muslim League is mainly and wholly the people's organisation of the Mussalmans. Its key is in the hands of the poor and workers of the Muslim nation.

Pakistan Provinces

Mr. Jinnah defined Pakistan so as to include the provinces of Sind, its gateway, Baluchistan, the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Bengal and Assam. He said that as Hindus desired in Hindustan, Muslims desired to rule in Pakistan. He could not understand why anybody should object to Pakistan—the natural and legitimate demand of the Muslim nation.

He knew that the objection was due to the desire of the Hindus to dominate over the Muslims and make them slaves in a united India. It was a dream, and once that dream was abandoned, the Hindu and the Muslim nations together could achieve freedom for both at the quickest possible time.

A Crucial Test

"The only way to enhance the prestige of your nation" said the Quaid-e-Azam, "is to vote for the League. The coming elections are a cruial test of your strength. The eyes of the whole world are on us. Stand firm and united and be on your guard against traitors and black sheep."

Mr. Jinnah added, "No doubt people will come to you and enumerate their so called services to you and the nation and beg you vote for them but your only standard to judge them, should be whether they have been given the League ticket. Tell them howsoever high their position may be, in their very face that you can't betray your nation and that you will vote for the League.

Central Election Board's Decision

"The Central Parliamentary Board, after days and days of cool deliberations, have announced their decision. Now if you are sincere Leaguers, if you are earnest in your profession it is your duty to support the decision of the Board."

Earlier Mr. Jinnah recalled the days of his childhood when he used to Lyari and said that he was so much associated with this place that he would never forget it.

The Eastern Times, October 27, 1945.

763

Appeal to Sind Muslims to support officially chosen candidates, Karachi, October 26, 1945.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in an interview strongly disapproved the attitude of Mr. G. M. Syed, President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, and uttered a warning that any revolt against the decision of the Central Parliamentary Board would be contrary to all elementary principles of discipline and defiance of the League's constitution.

The Quaid-e-Azam has urged the Musalmans of Sind to support the candidates selected by the Central Parliamentary Board in obedience to the constitution rules and regulations of the All-India Muslim League.

After explaining how he reconstituted the Sind Muslim Parliamentary Board Mr. Jinnah said that Mr. Syed adopted a rather high-handed attitude and adjourned the Board proceedings *sine die.*' Mr. Syed convened the meeting of the Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League which is '*ultra vires*' and it was outside the powers of the Council to instruct the Central Parliamentary Board to take up the work of nominating candidates for the Sind Assembly Elections. Mr. Syed also ignored the advice of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan." The Provincial Parliamentary Board," said Mr. Jinnah "is responsible to the Central Parliamentary Board and the Council of the Provincial Muslim League had no jurisdiction over it

whatsoever. When I was here on October 21," added Mr. Jinnah, "I was told that Mr. Syed had agreed alongwith all other members of the Sind Provincial Parliamentary Board to disregard the resolution of the Sind Muslim League Council and was willing to request the Central Parliamentary Board to deal with the whole matter. The Central Parliamentary Board which then became seized of the whole matter, selected 27 out of 35 candidates."

Abide By Decision

Urging the Musalmans of Sind for solid support to the officially nominated candidates, Mr. Jinnah concluded: "Any rebellion or revolt against this decision of the Central Parliamentary Board by an individual or individuals or a group, would be contrary to all elementary principles of discipline and it would mean a defiance of and setting at naught the Muslim League constitution, rules and regulations because a few favourites of one or the other person or persons have not secured a ticket from the Central Parliamentary Board.

The tallest poppy in the Muslim League organization must abide by this decision, and abide by it, not only in the manner of discipline, but for the sake of prestige of the organization, to which we have the honour to belong, and above all, the cause of achieving Pakistan for which we are struggling and fighting."

The Dawn, October 27, 1945.

764

Interview to "The Daily Gazette" Karachi, October 26, 1945.

A challenge to the Congress either to prove its claim to represent all India including a majority of Muslims or to adopt a

policy of "Hands off Muslims" was made by Mr. M. A. Jinnah in an interview to "*The Daily Gazette*."

Answering a question relating to the impending general elections to the Central Assembly, Mr. Jinnah said: "The Congress has been repeatedly maintaining that they are representing India and all the peoples of India including a large body of Muslims, almost claiming the support of a large body of Muslims. Even recently speeches of Congress leaders have emphatically asserted that the Congress represents India and the peoples of India. We have repeatedly denied that claim and we have maintained that barring a few Muslims who are in the Congress—and there are mushroom groups amongst Muslims also—the entire body of Muslims are with the League."

No Congress Ticket For Muslim Seats

Continuing, Mr. Jinnah observed: "I have seen the list of official Congress candidates for the Central Assembly issued to the press and it seems to me as proof positive that the Congress has run away from the false claim which it has broadcast in India and all over the world, because the Congress has not given its ticket to a single Muslim, be he either a member of the Congress or an outsider and to fight the Muslim League on a straight issue, namely whether the Muslims are with the Cogress or support it. Not a single ticket has been given so far as the Muslim seats all over India are concerned."

Reminded of the fact that Mr. Asif Ali was contesting at Delhi as the official and accredited representative of the Congress, Mr. Jinnah retorted: "We have already laid down that we are not going to contest any general constituency of mixed or joint electorates. But we shall nominate—indeed we have nominated—our official candidates to every Muslim constituency throughout India."

Mr. Jinnah added: "Here I may point out to the Wavell Proposal of constituting his Executive Council in which the

quota was fixed communal-wise and the Muslim bloc was to consist of five members. On the ground that they represented India and all the communities, the Congress claimed to nominate all the Indian members of the proposed Executive Council, and their main demand was that they would nominate two Congress Muslims out of the five of the Muslim block. This was insisted upon on the ground that the Muslim League did not represent the overwhelming majority of the Muslims of India. When the test comes to establish and prove their false claims, they have run away from the issue to get the verdict of the electorates. The truth is they had not the courage to nominate a single official Muslim candidate for Central Assembly in any of the Muslim constituencies in the country.

Cowardly Attitude

"But Mr. Jinnah," the interviewer asked, "you forget the Azad Muslim party which declares its sympathy with the Congress?"

Mr. Jinnah replied: "That is not the only mushroom Muslim body and it is an ephemeral and constantly changing body. Is there an Azad party in Sind? Has it got its constitution inside or outside of the Legislature of Sind or anywhere else? I am aware that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru recently stated that he would support the candidates of other Muslim groups whose creed and policy were in agreement with and akin to the Congress. Why not then give them a Congress ticket and give a straight fight instead of pulling wires from behind? A great organisation like the Congress should not adopt such a cowardly attitude. It is intended merely to disrupt Muslim solidarity. So long as that policy is pursued, it must lead to more bitterness."

"I, therefore, urge upon the Congress," Mr. Jinnah continuing declared, "to give up this policy and say, Hands off Muslims. Such a step would result in creating a more favourable atmosphere. Let the Muslims give their verdict in free and fair elections unhampered and uninterfered with an outside agency

like the Congress or, as I am informed on reliable authority, the British and the officials in the Punjab and other parts of India."

The Eastern Times, October 30, 1945.

765

Speech at a public meeting, Ahmedabad, October 27, 1945.

"Pakistan is the question of life and death for us. I shall live and die for Pakistan. I had asked for silver bullets to fight the election campaign, and Ahmedabad had responded next to Bombay which was a richer city than Ahmedabad. This amount was given not by Birlas and Dalmias, Kasturbhais and Ambalals but by the poor Muslims which enhanced the value of the contribution to over rupees one crore.

It showed that all Muslims, men, women and children, Shias and Sunnis, Bohras and Pathans were behind the Muslim League. All Muslims believed in one God and were one nation. They wanted Pakistan and would attain it. It was their amulet, their charm which would increase their strength and glory.

At present the League was conducting an election campaign and if they succeeded in it, it would show to the whole world that the Muslims were behind the Muslims League and have silenced the tongues of the opponents who contested that claim. Parliamentary Boards were appointed in different places to nominate Muslim League candidates.

If these boards were found to be guided by local prejudices, there was the Central Parliamentary Board for appeal. It was above local prejudices, and its decision should be considered final. It was the duty of every Muslim to support the candidate who was given the Muslim League ticket. It was the question of discipline.

"When the time for sacrifice came I am sure that they would sacrifice everything for Pakistan. The moon of Pakistan is shining and we shall reach it." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, October 28, 1945.

766

Statement to the A.P.I., on the conduct of elections, Bombay, October 29, 1945.

"The Muslim League wants to fight the forthcoming elections constitutionally and lawfully and that the League wants a verdict by means of free and fair elections.

"I have noticed reports of disturbances at election meetings. I have noticed reports of incidents in certain places where Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Ahrar and Khaksar meetings are taking place. I have made enquiries and according to my information, these reports are highly exaggerated, and in some respects not true, and I understand that they resort at their meetings to rank abuse of the Muslim League and personal attacks on League leaders.

"However, the only proper course for Muslim Leaguers and Musalmans who sympathise with the League and support it is that they should refrain from attending these meetings because they ought to know by whom the meetings are organised and who the speakers are. If anyone does attend such meetings, and if he finds that speeches are made which are abusive or offensive, the proper course for him is to leave the meeting.

"We have to fight out these elections constitutionally and lawfully and we want the verdict by means of free and fair elections throughout the country. I, therefore, appeal to

Musalmans not to play into the hands of their enemies and bring about fratricidal clashes amongst the Muslamans".(A.P.I.)

QAP-F-810/p.126 &

The Dawn, October 30, 1945.

767

Speech inaugurating election campaign, Bombay, October 31, 1945.

"I sent my application to the Central Parliamentary Board for my ticket to stand for election to the Central Assembly. My application was accepted. I am now standing before you and I assure you that it is my duty to serve the Muslim Nation. If you vote for me I am prepared to work for the cause of the Muslim Nation. Even if you don't vote for me, I shall continue to work for you."

"The Muslims of India are today politically more conscious than the Hindus", declared Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League inaugurating the first election meeting here. Mr. Jinnah was addressing a largely attended meeting of the Muslims of Bombay.

He said that the election would decide the future of India. It was not a question of voting for this or that candidate but it was the question of the future of a hundred million Muslims.

"The elections will give, "he continued", a clear verdict on the issue whether the Muslims of India stand for Pakistan or for Akhand Hindustan. It is, therefore, a question of life and death with Muslims of India.

"If we are defeated in the elections then we would be nowhere" he declared ,"but I have full faith in you and I see

clearly that Muslims of India today understand the issue before them. We have no press nor the financial support the Congress has, but, we Muslims are politically more conscious than the Hindus are, these handicaps notwithstanding."

Mr. Jinnah then explained the procedure adopted in the selection of Muslim League candidates for elections to the Central Assembly and said that those persons whose names had been rejected by the Provincial League Parliamentary Boards were free to appeal to the Central Parliamentary Board and finally to him as the President of the All-India Muslim League. In the name of discipline, he called on the Muslims to vote only for those candidates officially sponsored by the League, bearing in mind that the election were being fought on the issue of Pakistan.

Mr. Jinnah continuing said that in the new Central Assembly important questions like post-war reconstruction, adjustment of sterling balances, Indianisation of the army and planning would come up for consideration and the Congress and the British Government would look after their own interests. The Muslims should select a representative who could lead them and understand how to safeguard their interests. He therefore appealed to the Muslims to vote for League candidate in whose hands the interests of Muslims were safe. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, November 2, 1945.

768

Interview to the representative of the Associated Press of America, Bombay, November 1, 1945.

The tall, slender Muslim leader declared in his flawless English that he was confident that the League would score

convincing victories at the polls in Bengal, the Punjab and the North-West Frontier provincial elections which neutral observers had characterized as doubtful areas where the vote might be lost.

He predicted that the Muslim League would sweep a top heavy majority of the Muslim seats in the Central Assembly.

"In Bengal I am greatly confidant that the League will win a majority, perhaps an overwhelming majority, of the 119 seats for Muslims in the Bengal legislature.

"With 85 seats open to Muslims in the Punjab Provincial House, here again we are confident we will carry away an overwhelming majority. Flatly he predicted that the Muslim League would prove itself the majority party in the North-West Frontier legislative election.

Mr. Jinnah dwelt at length upon objectives of Pakistan and his reasons for crusading for it, terming Pakistan "the one issue in this election."

He asserted that disorders which have marked this tempestuous election campaign had their basis in an intense partisan feeling over the single issue of Pakistan. He asserted, however, that disorders do not affect voting trends one way or another.

United India Dream

He described the Congress Party as campaigning for a "United India which cannot be united in the way Congress wants," and predicted that final counting of the votes would show that " the Muslim League and not the Congress party speak for the majority of Muslims in India."

"Congress Hindu leaders speak of unity and brotherhood with Muslims in a United India, but they would not eat our food and if a Hindu shook hands with a Muslim he would wash his hands thereafter!

"We (the Hindus and Muslims) are different in every thing. We differ in our religion, our civilisation and culture, our history, our language, our architecture, music, jurisprudence and laws, our food and our society, our dress — in every way we are different. We cannot get together only in the ballot box.

Hindu Aim

The Hindus want it (unitary government) because in that case they would have a perennial majority of three to one and thus one society with its majority would rule the other society or nation, namely, Muslims, who would be in a minority always.

"Simply stated, we contend 'let us live our life'; 'let you live your life'. The Muslims in their own country of Pakistan, distinct and separate from the country of Hindustan.

Mr. Jinnah said that he could not agree with critics of Pakistan plan who contend it is unworkable, because it would set up one section in north western India and another section in north eastern India, each a sort of "Island" separated by some hundreds of miles of Hindustan (country).He said that they could work together smoothly and that problems of administration could be solved without too great difficulty.

Mr. Jinnah said that if, as he predicts, the election demonstrates that the Muslims League speaks for the majority of Muslim India," our next step will be a demand upon Britain for recognition."

Britain has already solemnly said India, united or divided, will have Dominion status. It has said that in the case of a division there would be two or more dominions, each with the right to secede any time it likes. If there were two or more dominions, it would be for them to decide whether to secede from the British Commonwealth of Nations or not.

Have you made up your mind that Pakistan should secede? Mr. Jinnah was asked .

"That would be a question for the constitution making body or the Central Assembly of Pakistan which will be elected by the citizens of Pakistan zones."

Disturbances Deplored

Mr. Jinnah expressed concern over incidents of violence which have occurred so far in the campaign and reiterated that he is advising his followers to avoid meetings where they can reasonably expect to hear provoking speeches against their cause. He said he is telling them to leave quietly if they find themselves in such a meeting.

He said he is inquiring into rumors that the recent communal disturbances in Bombay in which more than 30 persons were killed in a riot and prolonged series of knifing affrays had inception in political intrigue or at least political tension. He said the inquiry has shed no light to date on the cause of these disturbances. (A.P.A.)

The Dawn, November 2, 1945.

769

Interview to a representative of the Associated Press of America, clarifying various aspects of Pakistan, Bombay, November 8, 1945.

Mr. Jinnah emphasized and re.emphasized that he spoke for himself as a citizen and as President of the League. But the directing genius of the forces of Pakistan did not intend to try to dictate to the Constitution drafting and legislative

bodies of Pakistan and did not want to create an impression that he was trying to do so now.

Some of the highlights of his statements on various phases of the Pakistan controversy may be summed up as follows:

Geographically, Pakistan would embrace all of the North-West Frontier, Baluchistan, Sind and the Punjab Provinces in North-Western India. On the eastern side of India would be the other portion of Pakistan composed of Bengal and Assam.

Politically, Pakistan would be a democracy. Mr. Jinnah said that he personally hoped its major industrial and public utility services would be socialized. The component states or provinces of Pakistan would have autonomy.

Economically, Mr. Jinnah contended, Pakistan, divided into two separate zones, is just as sound and undertaking as if it were a country with all of its States in one bloc; that its natural resources and population would be sufficient to make it a great world power.

Most Powerful State

Declaring that Pakistan would embrace a population of some one hundred million persons, Mr. Jinnah added: "England became power with only a population of 35 million. Pakistan could become one of the most powerful States economically."

"Even now a Muslim League committee is studying the field for developing the Pakistan States as a nation. There is a great future for it, with its still untouched iron, petroleum, sulphur, coal and other mineral deposits many of which already have been mapped. The Punjab is putting up one of the greatest hydroelectric stations in the world and this will mean a rural electrification and industrial development programme.

There was no merit to contentions that to draw masses of persons into industry would rob farms of needed labour and invite food shortages or famine.

There would be ample revenues from "equitable taxation, levied in a manner consistent with social justice," to finance good Government and "allow us to have a State as good as any in the world and better than many sovereign countries on the map of the world today.."

"This would be a Muslim State. As far as the Musalmans are concerned there would be no social barriers of any kind against the Hindus or anyone else. The Muslmans are a people who believe in and act on the basic principle of equality of manhood and fraternity.

Socialisation of Public

Utilities and Industries

You are asking me to interpret what the Government will do. But personally I believe that in these modern days essential key industries ought to be controlled and managed by the State. That applies also to certain public utilities. But what is a key industry and what is a utility service are matters for the law-makers to say, not for me.

No One-party Government

Mr. Jinnah said that he did not expect that Pakistan would have one-party government and that he would oppose one party rule. "An opposition party or parties are good correctives for any party which is in power,"he said.

"Hindu minorities in Pakistan can rest assured that their rights will be protected.No civilized Government can be run successfully without giving minorities a complete sense of security and confidence. They must be made to feel that they have a hand in Government and to do this they must have adequate representation in it. Pakistan will give this."

"The theory of Pakistan guarantees that federated units of the National Government would have all the autonomy that you will find in the constitutions of the United States of America, Canada and Australia. But certain vital powers will remain vested in the Central Government such as the monetary system, national defence and other federal responsibilities."

Each federated State or province would have its own legislative executive and judicial systems, each of the three branches of Government being constitutionally separate.

National Defence

Britain has been strong with an empire scattered over the globe. We can be strong with a Pakistan which has one of its zones in the west and one in the east of India. We would be more closely knit than the British Commonwealth of Nations.

"And do not forget that more than 55 per cent of the Indian Army comes from the Punjab and are mostly Muslims. Supposing that the Muslim League proves in the elections that it speaks for a majority of Muslims in India, he was asked, when would the first moves be made to set up a constitution drafting body and start the task of founding a country?

British Attitude

"That depends on the attitude of the British Government and of the Congress Party. The British Government has said it would grant independence to two or more dominions in India. We would have to wait and see."

The Dawn, November 9, 1945.

770

Speech at a public meeting regarding Palestine situation, Bombay, November 8, 1945.

"We, Mussalmans of India, are one with the Arab world and the Arabs all over the world on this issue. It is not a question of national home for Jews in Palestine. It is a question of Jews re-conquering Palestine, which they had lost 2,000 years ago, with the help of British bayonets and American money.

I have no enmity against Jews I know they were treated very badly in some parts of civilised Europe. But why should Palestine be dumped with such a large number of Jews? Why should the Arabs be given a threat which will wipe them out of Palestine? If the Jews want to re-conquer Palestine, let them face the Arabs without British or American help."

British Pledge to Arabs

Mr. Jinnah then traced the history of Palestine from the outbreak of the First Great War in 1914 and said that the history of Palestine had been dark since the inception of the British mandate. The British Government, he said, had given a solemn pledge to the Arabs in Palestine that they would be given complete sovereignty and independence in Palestine and with that pledge the British utilised the blood and services of the Arabs of Palestine for the First Great War. Colonel Lawrence of Arabia, who had recruited the services of the Arabs of Palestine on the strength of the British pledge, did not show his face to the Arabs when the British Government started wobbling and established a mandate in Palestine contrary to their pledge. The mandate meant occupation and exploitation.

"A Mussalman is always true to his word and when the other party breaks his word of honour, it is impossible to

tolerate the situation. The British are experts in giving promises and creating many obstacles in the way of carrying out those promises. While on one hand they gave a promise to the Arabs of complete sovereignty and independence in Palestine, they promised to the Jews in the Balfour Declaration a homeland in Palestine but not inconsistent with the sovereignty of the Arabs. Jews were thus allowed to enter into Palestine and Arabs were squeezed out.

White Paper Promise

"The Arabs in Palestine revolted and there was much bloodshed," continued Mr. Jinnah, "when Jews were given an unrestricted immigration into Palestine. But when England found herself in the midst of distress in the great war of 1939-1945, the British Government published a White Paper in which the Arabs were promised that not over seventy five thousand Jews were to be given entrance into Palestine upto 1945. The result is that today Jews form one-third of the population of Palestine."

Mr. Jinnah then explained how Muslims in India had tried to help the Arabs in Palestine from the beginning of the trouble in Palestine. "On behalf of the Mussalmans of India," said Mr. Jinnah "I made a representation to Lord Linlithgow, the late Viceroy of India, regarding the treatment given to Arabs in Palestine. The Viceroy in his reply gave an assurance to the Mussalmans of India that every consideration would continue to be given by the British Government to legitimate Arab claims. The Viceroy had given me this assurance on behalf of the National Government of the United Kingdom of which Mr. Attle and his colleagues were members and were a party to this promise."

Mr. Jinnah at this stage read out the letter which Lord Linlithgow had written to him in reply and said that he had observed that confidence which the Viceroy had entrusted to him and did not pass on that letter to the Mufti of Palestine.

According to the White Paper, immigration of Jews into Palestine was to cease by March 1945 and Lord Linlithgow's letter had pointed out how Arabs were satisfied with measures taken to implement the policy laid down in the White Paper and assured Mr. Jinnah that Arabs in Palestine were helping the British war effort and there was a great improvement in the situation.

Mr. Jinnah referred to the efforts made by President Truman to put pressure on the British Government to allow 1,000,000 Jews into Palestine.

Mr. Jinnah said "Here comes the President of a great country thinking entirely of Jewry and the interest of Jews. President Truman had the effrontery to put pressure on the British Government to allow 1,000,000 Jews into Palestine, while he has agreed after a long period of vacillations to allow only 100 Indians to migrate in United States of America."

When a section of the audience shouted "shame, shame", Mr. Jinnah turned round and exclaimed "It is not shame, it is criminal. There is no justice, no principle for fairplay. It is monstrous and criminal."

Why does not President Truman take 1,000,000 Jews into the United States, asked Mr. Jinnah "Why not send these Jews to Canada or Australia, if they want to treat them with charity and generosity? The reason is that the Jews do not want a national home in Palestine. What they want is to reconquer Palestine which they lost 2,000 years ago, with the help of British bayonets and American money."

Mr. Jinnah then declared that, if the British Government tried to violate the solemn pledges given to the Arabs in Palestine and allowed the entry of Jews into Palestine, as suggested by President Truman, there will be no peace in the Middle East and the whole Arab World would revolt. The consequences would be disastrous, he declared. The Muslims of

India would not remain as mere spectators. They would help the Arabs in Palestine by all possible means. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, November 10, 1945.

771

Rejoinder to Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose's statement, Bombay, November 9, 1945.

"I have never claimed that the Muslim League represents cent per cent of Mussalmans of India," declared Mr. M. A. Jinnah President of the All India Muslim League, at a public meeting of Muslims here.

Mr. Jinnah was referring to the report in the press in which Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose had stated in an interview that he (Mr. Jinnah) had claimed to represent cent per cent Muslims of India.

Mr. Jinnah said: "It is childish to claim that any party represents cent per cent of the inhabitants of a country. Such a claim cannot be made by any sane person. In every country there are traitors and selfish and misguided persons. This is a typical Congress method that it puts into the mouth of its opponent a thing which cannot be true.

"The Congress leaders have lost their sense of proportion and perspective," added Mr. Jinnah. "I claim to represent an overwhelming majority of Mussalmans of India and I challenge the Congress to disapprove my claim."

Mr. Jinnah asked why the Congress had not put up any candidate for the Central Legislative Assembly from any of Muhammadan constituency where there were separate electorates. He declared that the Congress had not a ghost of a

chance in those constituencies and the sooner the Congress realised this fact the better it would be for all. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, November 10, 1945.

772

Appeal to his Voters,
Bombay, November 10, 1945.

"I am standing as a candidate for election to the Central Legislative Assembly on the Muslim League Ticket from the Bombay City Muslims Constituency at the ensuing elections. The importance of the forthcoming elections cannot be over-emphasised. The Simla Conference which was called by His Excellency the Viceroy for the re-constitution of his Executive Council for an interim period broke down because the just and legitimate claim of the All India Muslim League as the only authoritative and representative organisation of the Musalmans of India to speak on their behalf, was falsely challenged by the Congress and the Unionists of Punjab. The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League demanded fresh elections to prove its claim. These elections will now take place in our Province on the 27th November, 1945. The Muslim League candidate has already been returned unopposed from the Northern Division Muslim Constituency. Mr. Hooseinbhai A. Lalji alone is contesting the remaining two seats from Bombay City and the Southern Division of this Province against Muslim League candidates.

2. I have already represented the Musalmans of Bombay on the Central Legislative Assembly for a number of years and I am contesting the election again. The Muslim League has created political consciousness amongst the Musalmans of India on an unprecedented scale and today with the help of God we

are more united than we were ever before since the domination of the British in this country began. The Congress which demanded the inclusion of two Congress Musalmans in the Viceroy's Executive Council at the Simla Conference has very wisely run away from the contest because it was sure to face an ignominious defeat in case it decided to put up any candidate with Congress ticket for the Central Legislative Assembly from any Muslim Constituency.

Some independent candidates have chosen to contest the elections against the Muslim League candidates. It is for the Muslims of India now to prove to the World that the All India Muslim League represents the Muslim nation in this country. Every Muslim vote cast in favour of the Muslim League candidate will be a vote for Muslim solidarity and will simplify the solution of the permanent constitutional problem of the sub-continent of India.

3. Events have moved fast since the last Central Legislative Assembly elections took place 10 years ago. There is no doubt that the British Government will have to part with power willingly or un- willingly, but the main question will be to whom the power is to be transferred. In the demand for the transfer of power placed by the Congress before the British Government, they insist on the establishment of the Unitary Government with a Common Centre. With the Hindus in a permanent majority at this Common Centre, they will be able to rule the whole of India and secure their freedom. To the Musalman who would be in a permanent minority at this centre it would only mean a change of masters form the British to the Hindus. The All India Muslim League on the other hand wants the transfer of power in a manner which would secure the freedom of both the Hindus and the Mussalmans by making them masters in their own majority provinces. In short the quickest and shortest route to the freedom of both the Hindus and the Mussalmans is to divide India into Hindustan and Pakistan.

4. It is necessary that the Muslim League should capture all the Muslim seats of the Central Legislative Assembly so that all members returned by the Muslim Constituencies can speak with one voice and look at every question coming before the Central Assembly exclusively from the stand point of the Muslim nation.

5. A number of questions such as post war reconstruction and planning are bound to come up before the next Central Assembly and Muslim solidarity is essential for the purpose of ensuring that the claim of the Mussalmans of India in these and many other vital matters are not over-looked or prejudiced. I, therefore, appeal to you to vote for me at the forthcoming election on the 27th November, 1945. And if I am returned I shall serve Muslim India in every way I can.

Yours-in-Islam
M. A. Jinnah.

QAP-F-987/p.32.

773

Interview to A.P.I with regard to recalling Indian troops from Indonesia, Bombay, November 12, 1945.

"I strongly urge on the British Government that no further Indian troops should be used in Indonesia and that such troops as are employed should be recalled immediately."

"We have the fullest sympathy with the Indonesians in their struggle to achieve freedom and to be free from the octopus of the imperialism of Holland. I do hope that the British Government realize that it is highly unjust of them to use British power to re-establish Dutch imperialism. To do so will be

to falsify all solemn declarations that have been made from time to time during the course of the war, and the blood of the common man will have been shed in vain.

"There is no doubt that the 100 million Muslims of India regard with the utmost sympathy the struggle of the 40 million Muslims of Indonesia to achieve freedom. It is not a religious question, but it is the birthright of every Muslim to breathe the pure air of freedom. The principle of Indonesian independence is unequivocally recognized. I appeal to every Indonesian to meet at a conference table to negotiate the details of a settlement. The All India Muslim League would be only too glad to help Indonesia."

Election Prospects

Mr. Jinnah, who is leaving Bombay for Delhi, said that reports made him confident that the Muslim League would carry the provinces of Bengal, Assam, Sind, the N.W.F.P. and the Punjab in the elections. In Bengal, he thought, the League would win 75 to 80 per cent of the constituencies.

"So far as the Punjab is concerned, "said Mr. Jinnah "if we had free and fair elections I have no doubt that we would sweep the polls. The only danger is of official interference and I do hope that both the Governor and the Viceroy will see to it that people are able to vote without official interference. I have proof of obstruction which has cost us thousands of votes. I have noticed that the N.W.F.P. has already taken steps to prevent Government officials playing a partisan role and have made a public announcement of these steps."(A.P.I.)

The Dawn, November 14, 1945.

774

Id message to the Muslims of India, Bombay, November 15, 1945.

A call to the Musalmans of India to stand by "our cherished goal of Pakistan and our National Organisation" was made by Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, in his Id message. Mr. Jinnah urged all Musalmans to support Muslim League candidates in the forth-coming elections. The following is the text of the appeal:

'I wish the Musalmans of India, every one of them a happy and prosperous Id-uz Zuha. I need not remind you in detail of the great significance of this auspicious day. When Abraham (peace be upon his soul) was ordered by Allah to give in sacrifice in the name of Allah that which he held dearest to his heart, Abraham willingly and readily offered to sacrifice his most beloved son, Ismael, and this event is commemorated today by the whole Muslim World.

"In this lies a great lesson for the Musalmans and especially for the Musalmans of India at this juncture. I cannot emphasize and impress upon you too strongly, my Muslim brethren all over India, the grave nature of the time we are passing through. But I am confident that if Mussalmans will do their duty to make sacrifices for the cause of Islam and Millat, we shall win, and win gloriously. I am glad that Musalmans of India realise the significance of the forthcoming general elections. Muslim India expects every one of us to stand by our cherished goal of Pakistan and our National Organization, the All-India Muslim League at this critical juncture. May God give us strength to do our duty unflinchingly and thus achieve our freedom and independence in our National State of Pakistan.

"I appeal to every Mussalman to support the Muslim League candidates, even though individual opinions may not be

satisfied with the final selections that may be made by the Central Parliamentary Board. There must be finality in the matter, and after the two Boards the Provincial and finally the appellate Central Board decide—discipline demands that we should support and vote for the official League candidates, and also for the sake of the prestige and honour of our organisation to which we have the previlege to belong, and above all for our cause and goal of Pakistan. Muslim seats are few and aspirants too numerous and so many names will have to be rejected. So we are bound to the disappointed and dissatisfied but they must think selflessly of the cause and the grave issues that are facing us. As true soldiers they must do their duty without a murmur of hesitation and whole-heartedly support the official Muslim League candidates. If need be, let this act be a token of their sacrifice. Again I wish you all a happy and prosperous Id-uz-Zuha." (A.P.I.)

QAP-F-1022/p.72 &

The Dawn, November 18, 1945.

775

Rejoinder to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's statement, New Delhi, November 18, 1945.

"The Congress at its recent meeting of the A.I.C.C. in Bombay, through its leading spokesmen, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, definitely laid down that they will have no truck with League and they will not negotiate any settlement with the League and further made it clear that they were going to crush the League and appeal to the Muslims over the head of the Muslim League and start a Muslim mass contact movement.

"I was told that the American press would like to know what our demand was and I gave them a framework of Pakistan. The Hindu press has now discovered that it is something new, which is untrue.

"I am astonished that Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, while he says that he was personally not afraid of Pakistan, should say that he knew that Pakistan of Mr. Jinnah's definition could never come into existence. All that I have said in my interview to the American press was placed before Mr. Gandhi fully and perhaps Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel has not read the correspondence and the statement issued by me immediately after the breakdown of the talks that took place between me and him for nearly three weeks. It may be due to his being in jail and he may not have cared to read it.

"Before making his criticism, if he will even now read it, he will find that it has not taken five years to define Pakistan. My presidential address to the League session in March 1940, where the Pakistan Resolution was passed has made our demand quite clear. As regards his other tirades and arguments, it is only a repetition of what is being urged by the Hindus against Pakistan and none of these arguments have any force and they have been thoroughly exploded by now.

Pakistan Logic

"The argument that is being put forward *ad nauseam* is how does Jinnah expect the Hindus in Muslim majority province to accept the assurance of the Pakistan Government when he is not prepared to accept a similar assurance of the Central India federation constitution in regard to the Muslims? It is asked: Why not apply the Pakistan logic to the whole of India? Surely it is quite manifest that the fundamental basis of Pakistan is that we want to rescue the Muslim provinces from domination and Hindu raj being established by a unitary or federal centre.

"In Pakistan zones there is a defined territory with an overwhelming majority of Muslims inhabiting and, therefore, we want these zones to be carved out and separated or divided from the rest of India. We are in a position to have our independent sovereign-government in these zones. The Hindus and non-muslims in these zones are a minority, and as I have said before, we can only accept safeguards and protections whatever is just, as Muslims in Hindu majority provinces will be similarly placed. The fallacy of the argument lies in the assumption that the whole of India belongs to Hindus. It means that in the Muslim majority provinces the Hindus can take the Muslim majority to submit to a union and establishment of a central federal or unitary government.

At present it is the British Government that rules the whole of India including the Indian States. Is the Congress going to dictate also to the Indian States and force them to what is their conception of a central federal or unitary government in India or into an All-India Union of their imagination? Further, are the Muslim minorities in the Hindu majority provinces entitled to enforce their verdict that there should be no union of any kind just as the Congress puts forward the plea that the Muslim majority provinces should be forced into the union because of the Hindu minority verdict in these provinces? And it is quite obvious that the Muslim minorities in the Hindu provinces will be under the double yoke of Hindu raj both in the Hindu majority provinces as well as in the centre under the proposed Central Government.

Minority to Dictate

Is the view or opinion of Muslim minority in the Hindu provinces to prevail? Is similarly the opinion of Hindu minorities in the Muslim provinces to prevail? In that case it will be the minority that will be dictating to the majority both in Hindustan and Pakistan which reduces the whole position to absurdity.

As to his other slogans that Hindus and Muslims are brothers and one nation, the less Sardar Patel talks about it the better It does not come with any grace from his mouth at any rate for did not Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel perform the opening ceremony of swimming bath in Bombay meant exclusively for Hindus? Has he forgotten that some young men demonstrated protesting against his participation in the opening ceremony of the swimming bath which excluded the Muslim brethren even sharing the sea-water. All this shows that the Congress has no desire honestly to come to a settlement with the League.

Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel is reported to have said: "We are prepared to compromise with them, but there is little chance of any compromise with League so long as the leader of the League does not reform his manners." This is really the argument that reminds me of the Esope Fable. The Wolf and the Lamb. Mr. Gandhi and I met for three weeks, nearly. Other Hindu leaders have met me. And I always welcome them. But if I have refused to be taken in and that they have failed, it is not my fault. Mr. Gandhi from the very beginning made the position difficult by saying that he was meeting me in his individual capacity and certainly I have nothing to learn from Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in the matter of manners and code of courtesy which I have extended to all those who have met me. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, November 19, 1945.

776

Message to "Millat", a Bengali weekly, New Delhi, November 18, 1945.

Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, President, All-India Muslim League has sent the following message to the Bengali Weekly "*Millat*":—

"What message can I give you. I want you all to work."

The Eastern Times, November 21, 1945.

777

Speech at the Frontier Muslim League Conference, Peshawar, November 20, 1945.

"I am glad that the Pathans have fully grasped their ideal of Pakistan and they are trying to live a life of freedom from foreign yoke and Hindu domination," said the Qaid-e-Azam addressing the Frontier Muslim League conference which opened here tonight.

Continuing Mr. Jinnah said:-

"There is a great difference between the Sarhad Musalmans of 1936 and those of today. I am proud to see the Sarhad Muslims wide awake to safeguard their rights. When I last visited the Frontier in 1936 and had stayed here for 10 days, the Sarhad Muslims were under the snare and fraud of the Hindu Congress, but today every Muslim, male, female or child, nay, even the Hindus themselves understand that the Muslim League is the sole and only representative body of Muslim India and the million people behind the Muslim League who are present here today are solid proof of that fact.

"We have to fight a double-edged battle, one against the Hindu Congress and the other against British Imperialist, both of whom are capitalists. The Muslims demand Pakistan, where they could live according to their own code of life, there own cultural growth, traditions and Islamic Laws.

"Hindu Congress on the other hand wants Akhand Hindustan wherein they could dominate the Muslim minority of

10 crores by a Hindu majority in the Central Government and thus check the growth of the Muslim nation in all respect. This the 100 million Musalmans will never accept. There are only two courses open to the Congress. They are either to accept Pakistan or to crush the Muslims, but 100 million Musalmans cannot now be crushed.

Stand By Pakistan

"Muslim India expects every Musalman to stand by our cherished goal—Pakistan, and our national organisation—the League. I am confident that the Pathans will join hands with other Indian Muslims to make sacrifices for the cause of Islam. And we shall win gloriously and honourably. We must do our duty unflinchingly with unity in all ranks of the Mussalmans under the banner of the Muslim League, by announcing our unmistakable verdict in favour of the League or in other words, in favour of the establishment of Pakistan, when alone can the Muslims ensure their own political and economic future in their own homeland, otherwise their future will be very insecure in Hindu majority provinces."

Congress Hypocrisy

"When the time for suffering comes I will be the first to get a bullet in my chest. I do not believe in obtaining leadership by going to jail and securing a release somehow and call it sacrifice, just as the Congress seems accustomed to."

Dwelling on the objections raised by the Congress, Mr. Jinnah said, "May I know from the Congress where the 'Quit India' Resolution has disappeared? Why did the Congress stoop to such humiliation in the Simla Conference? Why were they licking the feet of Lord Wavell? The main object of all that was that they wanted to be installed in the *Gaddi* and thus gain power and crush the Mussalmans."

"Very few people", said Mr. Jinnah, "from among the Muslims were in the Congress now. The number of such

Muslims was fast decreasing." Mr. Jinnah pointed out that even in the Frontier very recently Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan had received Rs. 25,000 from the Congress from Bombay to build an Ashram in the Frontier. He said that the Congressite Muslims were being bribed in this way by the Congress to stand for the Congress. The Congress had a strong press and money, both in hand and they carry out false propaganda in India as well as abroad. But he believed, viewing from the present awakening in the Frontier that the Congress could no longer deceive the Sarhad Pathans.

"Let the Congress agree to our demand for Pakistan and see who sacrifices most—the Sarhad Pathans or the Hindus ("Pathan Zindabad, League Zindabad, "Jinnah Zindabad").

Vote For League

In conclusion Mr. Jinnah appealed to the Muslims to vote for the Muslim League candidates selected by the Selection Board and finally accepted by the Central Board because such a vote will be a vote for Muslim solidarity and will simplify the future and the last constitutional problem of Muslim India. Discipline demands that you should support the official League candidates and Pakistan and thus maintain the honour, discipline and prestige of our National Organisation. Mr. Jinnah warned all leaders to act selflessly, honestly, truthfully and earnestly. He said that if they betrayed the trust placed in them by 10 crores of Muslims they will surely suffer very heavily.

Weekly "Khyber Mail", Peshawar,

November 23, 1945.

778

Speech at a Public Meeting, Peshawar, November 21, 1945.

"Once Muslims are promised their freedom in their homelands, they will excel Hindus in sacrifices. Muslims cannot be expected to shed their blood for their own enslavement. As long as I live I shall not allow a single drop of Muslim blood to be shed in the cause which leads to Hindu rule over Muslims."

Congress Leaders and 1942 Disturbances

"It was," Mr. Jinnah added, "for the leader to determine when his followers were ready to strike. A good general would never attack until sure of victory or at least honourable defeat. He did not believe in provoking people to face bullets and imprisonment and then innocently declaring from jail that he had no hand in the affair, though claiming credit for people's sacrifices after release. This was no good politics.

"It was wrong to say," he declared, "that Muslims had made no sacrifice. In the 1921 agitation Muslims were in the vanguard of the struggle. In 1930 it was the Frontier Muslims who sacrificed their lives. At that time Hindus opposed even the introduction of reforms in the Frontier Province. They opposed it in the Round Table Conferences also.

Great Change in Pathan Outlook

Mr. Jinnah said that he had come to Peshawar after nine years. He noticed a great difference in the Pathan outlook. The Muslim League had gathered strength. Here Muslims had become a prey to Congress machinations. Now they had freed themselves from their intrigue. Muslims believed in one God, one Book and one Prophet. It was the League's effort to bring them on one stage under one banner which stood for Pakistan.

We Have no Friend

He added: "We have no friend. We can depend neither on the Englishman nor on the Bania Hindu. In fact they are both Banias. We shall fight both even if they unite against us."

Kissing Wavell's Shoes

"In Simla," he added, "the Congress leaders, who celebrated Independence Day every year and believed in 'Quit India,' went down on their knees before Lord Wavell whom they proclaimed as their leader. Hindus were trying to deceive Muslims but these tactics could never succeed now. The real aim of Congress was to coerce the Muslim League at Simla. And when the Congress did not succeed in bending the will of the League, then they tried to kiss Lord Wavell's shoes so that he might declare that the Government was against the League too. But they failed."

Selection of League

Referring to elections in the Frontier he said that there were 38 Muslim seats, for which there were more than one hundred applications. The League selection Board had tried to select most suitable candidates. He hoped that those who had not been given the League's ticket would faithfully work for the League's success. "If you betray a hundred million Muslims, you will not survive to become a Premier or a Minister yourself."(A.P.I.)

The Eastern Times November 22, 1945.

779

Speech at a Public Meeting, Mardan, November 24, 1945.

"We must get Pakistan at any cost. For it we live and for it we will die."

Mr. Jinnah added: "It does not require a long speech to explain what Pakistan is. Even a child understands it and Hindus understand it better than Muslims. The Mussalmans have to struggle and struggle hard for their honourable existence.

"It is not the question of winning a few seats or forming a Ministry. The issue is more complicated and vital. The entire world is looking to you for your verdict about Pakistan. If it is in favour of Pakistan, no power on earth can deny it.

"Shake off your differences and stand united against the Congress which is the enemy of Mussalmans. Where the Muslim League is fighting for the freedom of Muslims, the Congress wants to crush them by keeping them under Hindu domination. This we can never tolerate."

Continuing Mr. Jinnah said:

"I have come to the Frontier province after nine years. There is vast difference. The Frontier Pathan is now wide-awake. He is out of the Congress snare now. But you must work and work hard and make the Muslim League still stronger. By doing so you will contribute substantially not only to the honour of the crores of Muslims but to the crystallisation of a free Muslim state of Pakistan where Muslims will be able to offer the ideology of Islamic rule."

Mr. Jinnah expressed the hope that the elections would clearly demonstrate that the real force of Indian Muslims was behind Pakistan. He concluded with an appeal that all Muslims

should vote for Muslim League candidates. By doing so they would not be voting for any individual but for the League and for the cause of Pakistan."

The Eastern Times, November 27, 1945.

780

Address to the Students of Islamia College, Peshawar, November 25, 1945.

Speaking for 70 minutes, Mr. Jinnah first thanked the Principal and students for their "cordial welcome which breathed of love and affection." "There can be no better encouragement to a man, "he said, "than to have this tribute from you."

Frontier From 1936 To 1945

Mr. Jinnah then gave a brief resume of the events from 1936 when he visited the Frontier Province uptodate. In 1936 when I visited this province, Muslims were dead—educationally, socially, economically and politically. The Muslim League then did not exist. The Muslims all over India were drifting in no-man's land and were used by every squatter. The careerists and opportunists among the Muslim people went into the bureaucratic and the Congress camps. As far as Muslims were concerned, they were like a football to be kicked about.

Today out of the crowed of 100 million souls, we have created and consolidated a nation throbbing and pulsating with life from one end of India to another.

Mr. Jinnah briefly narrated the evolutionary stages through which the League passed and finally adopted Pakistan as its political creed.

The League stood for carving out states in India where Muslims were in numerical majority to rule there under Islamic law.

Mr. Jinnah ridiculed the decriers of Pakistan and asserted that every one of their arguments had been completely met and fully exploded.

The voice of Muslims were ringing throughout the world. Did any body care for you seven years back?" he asked.

Planning in Pakistan

Mr. Jinnah then dwelt on the various educational, economic and planning sub-committees set up by the League to find material for the reconstruction of Muslim education, Muslim industry and commerce on proper, sound and essentially Islamic basis.

Mr. Jinnah made a special mention of the reorganisation of the Muslim youth all over India under the auspices of the All-India Muslim Students' Federation.

Caution of Great Danger

Turning to the political situation, Mr. Jinnah made mention of the "grave danger" to the future of Muslims as it existed in 1939. "I shudder to think of it now," Mr. Jinnah added. "There was a deal concluded between Mr. Gandhi and Lord Linlithgow to implement the federal part of the Government of India Act-1935. But Providence helped and, in September, 1939, war broke out.

League Development

"We were just sufficiently strong not to be ignored completely. That was the first time in the history of contemporary India that the Viceroy invited Mr. Gandhi and myself because I represented a certain force.

Mr. Jinnah recalled how in 1936 when Pandit Nehru thundered that there were only two parties in India, namely, the British Government and the Congress, he (Mr. Jinnah) like a lamb bleated that there was also a third party!(Laughter.)

Mr. Jinnah then narrated the various events from 1939 leading to the Simla Conference all resulting in the accession of strength and prestige to the Muslim League. In this connection he made special reference to the August declaration which vouchsafed that political progress depended on the mutual understanding between the various interests in the country.

Cripps offer, according to Mr. Jinnah, contained a germ of Pakistan as it implicitly, though not explicitly, recognised the possibility of coming into existence of more than one Dominion in India.

Mr. Jinnah said: We are still on the defensive and are vigilantly watching that outside elements may not come to a settlement between themselves over our heads. They say, Jinnah has a veto for constitutional advance. I wish I had it.

Congress Tactics At Simla

Coming to the Simla Conference, Mr. Jinnah made a devastating criticism of the Congress and said that it was completely unmasked. Mr. Jinnah said that throwing its creed of Purna Swaraj—complete independence—to winds, Congress left no stone unturned to walk into Viceroy's Executive Council. Their leaders began to talk of portfolios. Mr. Nehru was marked for the portfolio of Foreign Affairs while Maulana Azad was to be incharge of Home portfolio.

The Congress first wanted to crush and humiliate the League and then attempted to discredit it. The second line of action on the part of Congress leaders was to provoke Lord Wavell against Mr. Jinnah so that he should by-pass the League and thus enable the Congress leaders to take charge of Ministerial jobs in the Centre.(Shame, shame.)

"They failed ignominiously "said Mr. Jinnah.

"We are still in the arena of peaceful and honourable negotiations. Mr. Jinnah characterised Congress efforts at "conciliation"with the League as part of their programme to defraud and cheat and entrap him. "They failed every time to cheat me,"he declared.

"Now," said Mr. Jinnah, "I am to the Congress King Charles head and am on their list as criminal number one." (Shame, shame.)

"I shall face my trial if it ever comes. But believe me, I shall never fail to do my duty towards my people."

Mr. Jinnah recalled how the Congress leaders, as a part of their strategy to befool Muslims, used to make "sporting offers" of making him the first Premier of the National Government.

Warning Note to Congress

Mr. Jinnah warned the Congress to give up their "nefarious methods " to cheat and intimidate the League. He declared that no power on earth could crush the League.

Appeal to Congress

He said, "There is only one way; that is of peaceful negotiations. Let us meet as equal representatives of two nations and decide upon the future of the great people of India, concede us Pakistan with grace or we shall take it."

What is Pakistan?

Defining Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah said, "We want to get rid of the British but we don't want the change of masters. Let 3/4th of India belong to Hindus where they can rule as they wish and let Muslims have 1/4th of India where they are in majority. Let us both be free. What is terrible about it?"

Mr. Jinnah said that Messrs. Gandhi, Nehru, Patel and others should give up their ugly dream of ruling over whole of India which has been finally ended. "I have dashed it to the ground," he said.

Barring a few *quislings*, Mr. Jinnah said, all Muslims stood for Pakistan.

Vote For League, For Pakistan

Concluding, Mr. Jinnah made a fervent appeal for giving their verdict in favour of Pakistan by returning League candidates to the Frontier Assembly. "Now you must not fail your nation and we shall have Pakistan, *Inshaallah*."

The Morning Standard, November 27, 1945 &

The Dawn, December 4, 1945.

781

Speech at a Ladies Meeting, Peshawar, November 26, 1945.

"I am very glad that our women are coming forward. There is as much necessity for the education of our girls as our boys. Women can always play a great part. It is said that the hand that rocks the cradle rules the nation. It is only enlightened and educated women that can bring up children worthy of the nation. Our Islamic history shows that women have always worked shoulder to shoulder with men. No nation can ever achieve any big thing unless we take our women with us." Mr. Jinnah thanked the ladies for their expression of confidence in his leadership.

The Eastern Times, November 28, 1945.

782

Speech in reply to an address of welcome presented by the students of Edwardes College, Peshawar, November 27, 1945.

"We are fighting for Pakistan, we are fighting for freedom of every man on this subcontinent. It was Hindu Congress which was withholding freedom of all of us by obsession.

"I tried to make a contribution to the best of my ability, provided we could bring about any honourable settlement for establishing Pakistan, where the Muslims can live about with a sense of security and confidence.

"India's constitutional problem is most complex and there is no parallel in any part of the world. We proceeded on wrong lines. We started with the assumption that India was one country with homogeneous population. But it is not one country. It is not one national State. It is a state of nationalities and two major nations, Hindus and Muslims. We tried to make an honourable and equitable adjustment, but we failed as we were bound to fail. Now it is no use harping on the same rut. Let us examine the problem from a true angle.

"We the two major nations, not only differ in religion but have two totally different cultures. Our religion contains a code of life in the conduct of every department and we want to live in accordance with the same ideals but the Hindu leadership is bent upon establishing 'Ram raj' and treat the Muslims as a minority.

"Have you ever heard that a 100-million people are to be treated as a minority? We are persuaded and cajoled and asked to join the battle of freedom. This is a share in the price of

victory that we shall be transferred from British domination to Hindu domination.

Mr. Jinnah appealed to the Congress leadership to take hands off the Musalmans and come as two equals to an honourable settlement which would make Hindustan prosperous and great as well as Pakistan prosperous and great. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, November 28, 1945.

783

Message to the Musalmans of the Frontier Province, Peshawar, November 27, 1945.

"Every vote in favour of Muslim League candidate means Pakistan. Every vote against Muslim League candidate means Hindu raj. That is the only choice and only issue before us. I am sure that the Musalmans of Frontier will rise to the occasion and will play their magnificent part as spearhead of Pakistan.

"I have now been over a week in the Frontier Province and I have seen many people, addressed thousands and had talks with hundreds and I am happy to say that solid body of Musalmans belonging to all classes is united and now without doubt is wholeheartedly behind and with the Muslim League. The revolutionary change that has come over the Musalmans of this province is almost miraculous. I feel confident that if complete unity which I have witnessed is guided by our leaders here properly, we shall sweep polls in the Frontier Province. Victory is in our hands and it is for our leaders here to make it an accomplished fact. My message and appeal to every Mussalman of this province is that after final decision of the Central Parliamentary Board regarding the selection of

candidates, whatever his personal or individual opinion may be, he should support official League candidate who has got ticket and cast every vote in his favour. This support and vote for him does not mean approval of some or disapproval of others. Discipline demands that you should vote for League candidate. Prestige and honour of the organisation to which we have privilege to belong demand that we should support League candidate even though he may be lamp-post and above all for sake of our cause we want to secure thumping verdict at this moment and prove to the world that Musalmans have definitely decided to achieve Pakistan.

"I am leaving today and I wish to thank the people of Frontier most cordially for their having given me enthusiastic and royal reception and for tremendous hospitality and kindness shown to me everywhere. I am extremely grateful to the Musalmans of the Frontier. It has given me all the more courage to work with redoubled energy for our national cause and achievement of our goal of Pakistan."

QAP-F-1022/p.73-74.

784

Rejoinder to the Statement of Col. Hay, Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan, about reforms in Baluchistan, New Delhi, November 30, 1945.

"My attention has been drawn to the statement of Col. W. R. Hay, Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan, which he made at a press conference and which was published in the *Statesman* of November 29, 1945. Evidently he has not got the correct report of my speech to which he refers.

His belated criticism of it after months seems very extraordinary and it is difficult to understand why he should have got this sudden inspiration. He says 'it is true that a resolution moved by a member of the Muslim League was passed in the Assembly but the Government of India did not give an undertaking to send a Committee to Baluchistan to suggest reforms.'

"This shows that either he has not studied the proceedings of the Assembly or that his military mentality cannot grasp the significance of it.

"The Government did not challenge a division and the resolution was passed unanimously. Sir Olaf Caroe while speaking on the resolution on behalf of the Government said: "Sir, I must oppose the formal side of the resolution which asks for a committee of this House to go round Baluchistan. "This was the only point which was indicated and this referred to the principles laid down as to the composition of the Committee.

Further on he said, "You are in the middle of a war" and pleaded the difficulties of a Commission immediately undertaking this task, but he gave this comfort that Government had already decided to nominate one representative of Baluchistan to the Central Legislature and that he agreed to the introduction of election system into the Quetta municipality. Does Col. Hay mean that no Committee should be appointed to suggest reforms in Baluchistan? Surely that was not the attitude of the Government of India in the light of the facts I have stated above.

League Achievement

"I am really surprised that Col. Hay made the statement that the Muslim League has not succeeded in getting an increased grant for education. He has apparently ignored all the enormous pressure that the Muslim League has been putting upon the Government of India since July 1943. When I was in

Baluchistan I submitted a strong memorandum to the then A.G.G.on various points and a debate was raised in the Assembly later.

"The case of Baluchistan was broadcast in a well considered pamphlet which was distributed to members of the Assembly in the beginning of 1944. I maintain that it is the pressure of the Muslim League that has secured these few things, namely, acceptance of the principle of election to the Quetta Municipality, representation of Baluchistan in the Central Legislature and grant of more money for education.

"I do not blame Col. Hay because his administration is of a quasi-military nature for which alone he is fitted and as long as he is the head of the administration with no sense of what civil administration should be, there is not much hope. Representation of Baluchistan in the Central Legislature has been nullified because the man recommended and nominated to the Council of State is almost illiterate and incompetent to understand Parliamentary work. The only qualification is that he is a big Khan but what we want is a representative of the people and not an ornamental person.

Proposals Shelved

"The acceptance of election system in the Quetta Municipality which was announced by the Government of India in the course of the debate as far back as March 1944 has not yet seen the light of day in the form of a scheme and public opinion is not consulted. The post-war reconstruction and planning on which four crores of rupees are proposed to be spent in Baluchistan remains a secret and the public have not been taken into confidence as to how this large sum of money will be spent for the benefit of the people. As to the increase in the educational grant I have no hesitation in maintaining that it has been due to the pressure which is constantly brought upon the Government of India. I am very glad that at any rate even Col.

Hay says that he would welcome higher educational grant for Baluchistan."

The Dawn, December 1, 1945.

785

Statement on the announcement about the visit of Parliamentary Delegation to India, Bombay, December 6, 1945.

Mr. Jinnah suggested that the British Government should apply their mind definitely to the division of India and the establishment of Pakistan and Hindustan which means freedom for both Hindus and Musalmans.

"I have now considered the statement made by Lord Pethick-Lawrence on India in the House of Lords, as reported in the press. The only new feature indicated is the British Parliamentary Delegation under the auspices of the Empire Parliamentary Association which is said to be sent to India. It is said that the Delegation will be selected by the Association in consultation with Parliament representatives and the chief political parties in that country.

The status and the functions of this delegation are neither defined nor even indicated, and the various questions put in the House of Commons later to Mr. Herbert Morrison, the Lord President of the Council, who made an identical statement in the House of Commons, and the answers given on behalf of the Government, show how loosely this idea has been conceived and announced by the Labour Government.

Mr. Morrison said this is an Empire Parliamentary Association Delegation. Nevertheless, I think it would be in a rather special category. As I conceive it, one of its purposes

would be to convey the goodwill of the British Parliament and also to make contacts and get information to assist the situation. He added :"I, would hope, upon their return, the Speaker might give them an opportunity of conferring with His Majesty's Government in order to express their views and impressions, and we might consider what further action should be taken.

Crux of India's Problem

It seems that the Labour Government are still in the dark as to the real crux of India's constitutional problem, and are trying to seek light through this circuitous method. It is difficult to understand this attitude after years of discussion.

Finally, under the stress of the various questions put to Mr. Morrison on the floor of the House, he concluded by answering: "If there is a general and wide feeling in the House that they would like the Government to confer, through the usual channels, on the status of the Delegation, I would be willing to receive representations on the point." "So this little mouse, after strenuous labour produced by the Labour Government remains for the moment in suspence as to its character, status, functions or even any indication of doubts of reference to them and we shall watch further developments and the final result."

The Pakistan Issue

"I wish His Majesty's Government, who by now ought to be in full possession of the facts regarding the quintessence of the Indian problem, would apply their mind to the real issue. Sir Stafford Cripps made it clear in his statement after the breakdown of the Simla Conference on July 15, 1945, when he said that there will be no agreement possible till the Pakistan issue is solved. When His Majesty's Government and the Secretary of State for India, Lord Pethick-Lawrence, boldly and frankly come out and expedite a permanent settlement on the

basis of Pakistan, which is the major issue and the only solution of India's constitutional problem, the deadlock will resolve itself.

"I therefore, earnestly commend to His Majesty's Government to declare their resolute resignation to the establishment of Pakistan in India.

"Muslim India will never accept any method of framing the Constitution of India by means of one Constitution-making body for all India, in which the Muslmans will be in a hopeless minority, and the conclusions are foregone in such an assembly nor will they agree to a constitution, federal or otherwise, with one centre, in which, again, they will be in a hopeless minority and will be at the mercy of the perennial Hindu majority domination.

"Further, any attempt to set up a provisional Government at the centre, which would in any way prejudice or militate against the Pakistan demand, will not be acceptable to us, as the thin end of the wedge, as it is sought by Hindu India under the term of the provisional "National" Government of India.

"If the Labour Government wishes to prove its *bona fides* to give freedom to the peoples of this sub-continent, they must face realities and facts as they are.

"First, the Hindus and the Musalmans are two major nations living in this sub-continent, and there are Muslim provinces and Hindu provinces, and it is high time that the British Government applied their mind definitely to the division of India and the establishment of Pakistan and Hindustan, which means freedom for both, whereas a united India means slavery for Musalmans and complete domination of the imperialistic Caste Hindu Raj throughout this subcontinent, and this is what the Hindu Congress seeks to attain by constant

threats to all and every day and this is what we are determined to resist with all that lies in our power."

QAP-F-1022/pp.75-76 &
The Eastern Times, December 7, 1945.

786

Interview to Duncan Hooper, Reuter's Special Correspondent, Bombay, December 7, 1945.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, told me today: "I shall certainly refuse to take part in any constitution-making body before the Pakistan issue is settled. And I remain convinced that Pakistan is the only hope for a fair and lasting settlement of the Indian problem. The deadlock in this country is not so much between India and the British. It is between Hindu Congress and the Muslim League.

"I think more and more Congress members are beginning to realise that this is the crux of the matter and that furthermore, nothing can or will be solved until Pakistan is granted."

"The British government, "Mr. Jinnah added" are putting the cart before the horse in proposing an all India constitution making body before a settlement of the Pakistan issue. First we must get agreement on Pakistan. Then, and only then, can we proceed to the next step. But there will have to be not one, but two, constitution-making bodies—one to frame and decide the constitution of Hindustan and the other to frame and decide the constitution of Pakistan.

"I don't consider that I am being unreasonable about this and I do not see any ground for a compromise from me. It is Congress that must moderate its attitude," Mr. Jinnah said.

Asked - "What if the British government decides to force through a settlement? - Well, impossible things can happen but it will mean no lasting or even momentarily endurable solution, not to say that the consequence of such a step will be most disastrous.

"Patchwork methods will not work at this stage in India's destiny. What is needed is real statesmanship and a real effort to face facts. We could settle the Indian problem in ten minutes if Mr. Gandhi would say: 'I agree that there should be Pakistan—I agree that one fourth of India comprised of six provinces, Sind, Baluchistan, Punjab, N.W.F.P., Bengal and Assam with their present boundries should constitute Pakistan state.

After that it would be a simple matter to sit down as friends and work out the details of a friendly and neighbourly life between the two great nations of this sub-continent.

"Canada and the United States live together. Why can't Hindus and Muslims? Granted there may have to be many adjustments. It is possible that there will have to be exchange of populations, if it can be done on a purely voluntary basis. There will also doubtless have to be frontier adjustments where primarily Hindu and Moslem lands are contiguous to the Hindustan or Pakistan States, as the case may be. All that can come - but first it is necessary to take the present provincial borders as the boundaries of the future Pakistan.

"Our Pakistan government will probably be a federal government, modelled on the lines of autonomous provinces with the key power in matters of defence and foreign affairs etc. at the centre. But that will be for the constitution-making body, our constitution making body, to decide.

"I personally do not doubt the sincerity of the British government. But I do doubt the sincerity of those who profess to

see any hope of a settlement outside the granting of full Pakistan to the Muslims of India."

QAP-F-810/p.112-14

787

Statement regarding Gandhi-Casey Parleys, Bombay, December 8, 1945.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah said, "I know nothing about the current rumours that the Gandhi-Casey and the scheduled Gandhi-Wavell discussions would have a sequel in conversation between himself and the two Government officials.

Mr. Jinnah said he expected to visit Calcutta on a tour but that the exact date of his arrival had not yet been fixed.

He said that his statement left no room for speculation on the likelihood of his meeting the Governor of Bengal or Lord Wavell or both of them. (A.P.A.)

The Dawn, December 10, 1945.

788

Statement on the Viceroy's speech at Calcutta, Bombay, December 11, 1945.

"I am glad to note one feature of his speech which strikes me and that is that he is realising that the Hindu Congress are determined to dictate their own terms by threats and that they have no honest desire to negotiate. So long as they flourish their sword of Damocles of mass civil disobedience taking shelter

under the plea of non-violence, peaceful resistance which they know is not true, it is difficult to make any progress.

"The second feature that strikes me is that His Excellency is beginning to understand the political situation in India when he said, 'I can assure you earnestly that the British Government and the British people honestly and sincerely wish the Indian people to have their political freedom and Government or Governments of their own choice.'

"I have read the report of the speech of the Viceroy delivered at the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta on December 10, in which he has dealt with many important matters and it requires a very careful study to deal with the various points that he has referred to as and when they arise. We will certainly play our part in their proper development as and when they come before us in a definite shape.

"I wish he would next time make it still more clear that the division of India is inevitable and that it is the only solution of India's political problem. He might also make a note that the Congress is not the only largest political party in India and that his reference to the Musalmans is very unfortunate, when he says: "The minorities, of whom Musalmans are the most numerous and most important."

"Musalmans are not a minority and the Muslim League undoubtedly is the only authoritative and representative organisation of the Musalmans of India. The importance of the political parties is not to be judged merely by their numbers, and it goes without saying that, numerically, the Hindu Congress will always be the largest political party in India in proportion to the Hindu population *vis.a.vis* the Muslim population. But counting of the heads is not the only test and Lord Wavell knows that, besides the minorities, the Congress and the Muslim League are the two main political organisations which represent the overwhelming majority of the Hindus and the Musalmans respectively in this subcontinent. I have always maintained that

the various minorities constitute an important element in the political life of this country, and they should have their voice heard in the settlement that may be arrived at and justice should be done to them".

QAP-F-810/pp. 110-111

& The Dawn, December 12, 1945.

789

Speech at a public meeting, Bombay, December 20, 1945.

"Those Muslims who differ from the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League should start an independent and separate Muslim organisation, but they should not join the enemy camp, i.e., the Congress.

Mr. Jinnah replied at length to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's recent speeches in Assam and described Mr. Nehru as "the impetuous Pandit who never unlearns or learns anything and never grows old." He added: "Pandit Nehru is nothing but Peter Pan."

"The Central Assembly elections", Mr. Jinnah said, "delivered a knock-out blow to those who masqueraded as Nationalist Muslims but who were really the henchmen of the Congress.

Mr. Jinnah declared that given an opportunity for really free and fair elections, the Muslim League would sweep the polls in every province in the coming elections.

The Nationalist Muslims, who knew that their fate was sealed and they were doomed, would try to provoke the supporters of the Muslim League and create disturbances. He pleaded for toleration on the part of Muslim League supporters

in the provincial elections and asked them to show the same spirit of discipline which they have shown in the Central Assembly elections.

Mr. Jinnah said: "We have finished the first round of our battle in the Central Assembly elections. The Congress adopted a most cowardly policy. It dared not put forward in a straightforward and honest manner any Muslim on the Congress ticket.

"Why did the Congress run away? It was because they knew that their fate would have been the same as that of their so-called Nationalist allies. Today, they are routed. The Musalmans have shown that their verdict is clear. We stand for Pakistan. The Musalmans have shown that Muslim India is awake.

Mr. Jinnah asked for silver bullets and said he would "finish the job."

Question to Nehru

"Pandit Nehru is reported to have said that the Congress election manifesto gave a picture of the future India. What we want to know is what is the kind of constitution and Government that you want to establish in India. Today, they want independence.

"Now I ask you, is there any decent inhabitant who has got any commonsense and intelligence, who does not want freedom and independence of this sub-continent?

"The question is, whose freedom and slavery? The issue is, who is the authority to whom the Government is to be transferred? We know definitely that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other Congress leaders in their speeches make it clear that it shall be of the Caste Hindu Congress.

Mr. Jinnah here referred to Pandit Nehru's statement that the Congress had tried to come to a settlement with the

Muslim League, but was frustrated in its attempts. If the Congress leadership lives in a dreamland", continued Mr. Jinnah, "and if they make attempts to cheat the Musalmans and if these attempts have been frustrated, I am proud that it has been so. As long as the Congress lives in this dream-land, it would not make any progress in freedom's battle.

"Don't Commit Fratricide"

"If the Nationalist Muslims are honest Muslims, their place is not under the shelter of the enemy of the Muslim League. Let them join the National Organisation of Muslims and guide it. If they differ from the policy and programme of the Muslim League, let them form a separate and independent organisation and go to the Musalmans and place their policy and programme. Let us not commit fratricide. If the Muslamans agree to their programme, and think that the policy and programme of the Muslim League was harmful they will entirely support them.

"If we find our brothers are fighting honestly, then the Muslim League will be the first to correct itself. Therefore,, convert us from within if you can.

Mr. Jinnah discountenanced the suggestion that the Muslim League was composed of only the upper strata of the society and said: It is the common people who are behind the Muslim League. This wave, this avalanche of Muslim national renaissance connot be stopped by any power on earth. We will march to our goal of Pakistan and our freedom.(A.P.I.)

The Dawn, December 21, 1945.

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Birthday Message to Indian Muslims, Bombay, December 25, 1945.

"I thank all the Muslims of India from the bottom of my heart for their messages wishing me many happy returns. All I say to them is, work, work and work ceaselessly. Let us secure your thumping verdict in the forthcoming Provincial elections, just as we have secured for the Central Assembly elections, for the establishment of Pakistan. I feel confident now that we shall sweep the polls notwithstanding all the machinations, manoeuvres and intrigues on the part of our enemies. I therefore ask the Mussalmans of India to stand united and work thoroughly as a disciplined organisation. I must once again thank them all for their expression of love and good wishes on my birthday."

The Eastern Times, December 27, 1945.

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Speech at a tea-party given in Mr. Jinnah's honour by the Memon Merchants Chamber of Commerce on the occasion of his 70th birthday, Bombay, December 27, 1945.

" If the Hindus do not join us in our struggle for freedom, then the Muslim League will march alone to their goal of Pakistan and freedom," declared Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

Mr. Jinnah asked the Hindus "to face the realities" and invited them to march jointly for the freedom of both Hindus and Muslims.

"Both the Hindus and Muslims in India are slaves under the heel of the British rulers. When we fight for Pakistan we are fighting against the British and not against the Hindus. We have to get our freedom and establish Pakistan from the British and not from Hindus. Our struggle for Pakistan means freedom for both Hindus and Muslims. Therefore, let us jointly march to our freedom.

A Wicked Lie

"The Muslim League is fighting the British and not the Hindus. It is a wicked lie to say that we are fighting the Hindus. We are not fighting the great Hindu community. We are fighting the Congress High Command who are placing obstacles in the way of freedom for Muslims and in the way of freedom for Hindus as well. Let the Hindus join us in our struggle for freedom. Even if they do not join us, we shall continue our struggle and march alone to our goal of Pakistan and freedom.

Not Tools of Britain

Replying to the charge that the Muslim League is a tool in the hands of British imperialism, Mr. Jinnah said that it was a downright and mischievous lie. That is the only argument left in the hands of our enemies now, he added. They cannot accuse such a great representative Muslim organisation of playing into the hands of British imperialism. Thereby, they are accusing the Muslim community itself of playing into the hands of British rulers.

Reckless Threats

Referring to a recent speech of Mr. R.S. Shukla, former Congress Premier of the Central Provinces, who is reported to have said that the Muslims in minority provinces will be considered as foreigners and treated as foreigners, Mr. Jinnah said that" it was amazing to find that Congress leaders were indulging in such reckless and irresponsible threats.

"It is to terrorise the Muslims in minority provinces that such threats are being used by Congress leaders. But such threats cannot carry them anywhere. These are not the methods by which the Congress leaders can hope to achieve freedom for this country.

Businessmen's Part

Mr. Jinnah said that he was glad to see that the commercial section of the Muslim community was also realising its position in the national struggle which the Muslim League was carrying on. He asked every Muslim in this country to take his rightful place in the national life, and in their national organisatation—the Muslim League.(A.P.I.)

The Dawn, December 28, 1945.

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Statement congratulating the nation on cent per cent success in the elections, Bombay, December 30, 1945.

"Now that the official results of the elections for the remaining two Muslim seats in the Central Assembly from Bengal are announced, I congratulate the Musalmans of India for having achieved a glorious and unprecedented success in capturing cent per cent of the Muslim seats all over India, a particular feature being that most of the opposing candidates, and in Bengal every one of them, whether he was a nondescript wretched so-called Nationalist Muslim, or either of the two Muslim candidates put up by the Congress have forfeited their securities.

Stunning Defeat

"This ignominious, stunning defeat ought to make our opponents realise that they should give up their futile efforts to disrupt the Muslims, backed up by the Hindu Congress, its press and its unlimited financial resources. This is a clear verdict of Muslim India in favour of the Pakistan demand and it established that the Muslim League is the only authoritative and representative organisation of the Musalmans of India, and that the Congress does not represent the Muslims of India, nor any other community in India except the Caste Hindus.

"The Hindu Mahasabha, which was only a subsidiary organisation of the Hindu Congress, has been evaporated and the veneer that it was opposed to the Congress has been torn in all its nakedness and it has been established now beyond doubt that the Hindu Mahasabha was only one-side of the same coin, intended for critical occasions as a loud-speaker against the Muslim demand whereas the Congress did the finessing and acted in all respects exactly as a Caste Hindu national organisation against the Muslim League and the demands of Muslim India.

Our Glorious Victory

"As a mark of rejoicing for this remarkable and unprecedented success, I have directed the Secretary of the All-India Muslim League to issue instruction to all the Provincial, District and Primary Muslim Leagues all over India to observe Friday, January 11, 1946, as a day of celebration of our glorious victory in the first round, to hold public meetings and convey to our people the message of our success so far and prepare oneself as a disciplined, well-organised people to fight the second round of the provincial elections which are now facing us in order to achieve our complete success and declare a thumping majority in every province by supporting and voting in favour of the official League candidates.

"I am confident, God willing, that we shall come out of this battle of elections all over India successfully notwithstanding all the machinations and manoeuvres of the Congress and the nondescript Muslims who call themselves Nationalist Muslims and who are playing into the hands of our enemies, and in spite of the help of the powerful Hindu Congress Press and its unlimited financial and other resources which are thrown into this battle.

"I now appeal to every Musalman to concentrate his or her energy and do his or her best to help, support and vote for the Muslim League official candidates in every province. (A.P.I.)

QAP-F-1022/pp.77-80

& The Dawn, December 31, 1945.